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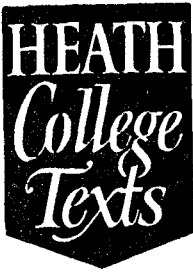
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# *The* AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## The Church in a Changing World: A Contribution to the Interpretation of the Renaissance\*

WALLACE K. FERGUSON

THE historical interpretation of that phase in the development of European civilization represented by the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries poses a problem that has aroused much interest and no little controversy among scholars in the ninety-odd years since Burckhardt first treated these centuries as a period in the history of Italian civilization and labeled it the Renaissance. Since then, scholars who did not share Burckhardt's preconceptions, or who were interested primarily in other countries or in some particular aspect of culture, have presented widely divergent views of the spirit, content, and chronological limits of the Renaissance,<sup>1</sup> with the result that the value of the concept for purposes of periodization has been greatly vitiated. Much of the confusion concerning the Renaissance arises, I think,

\* Read at the Renaissance Conference of the Middle Eastern States held at the University of Pennsylvania, April 21, 1951.

<sup>1</sup> For review of the major trends in the interpretation of the Renaissance, see W. K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought* (Boston, 1948).

from the fact that it has been used indiscriminately as a style concept or to denote an intellectual movement, and that, when considered as a historical period, it has commonly been regarded from the point of view of one country or one particular cultural or religious interest, so that its interpretation has been constructed upon too narrow a foundation. It seems to me that, if we consider the economic, social, and political, as well as the intellectual, aesthetic, and religious life of the centuries from 1300 to 1600, we shall find a certain unity of development in all the countries of western Europe. It seems to me, too, that, if the various aspects of their civilization are related to one another in a reasonably well co-ordinated synthesis, these three centuries may be treated as a period in the history of western European civilization as a whole, and that such a periodic concept may have sufficient validity to serve as a useful, if not indispensable, instrument of historical thought. For this period the term Renaissance may not be well chosen, but it is still the only commonly accepted term we have for a crucially important historical period, and one that cannot be treated satisfactorily by the simple device of attaching it to either the medieval or the modern age, or by dividing it between them.

It is, indeed, the distinguishing characteristic of these centuries that they are neither medieval nor modern, but represent a transitional stage which has a character of its own. In a paper read at the meeting of the Modern Language Association in December, 1950,<sup>2</sup> I defined the Renaissance as a period characterized by the gradual shift from one fairly well co-ordinated and clearly defined type of civilization to another, yet at the same time possessing in its own right certain distinctive traits and a high degree of cultural vitality. As a more precise hypothesis I suggested that it was a transition from a civilization that was predominantly feudal and ecclesiastical in its social, political, and cultural manifestations and agrarian in its economic foundations, to one that was predominantly national, urban, secular, and laic, in which the economic center of gravity had shifted from agriculture to commerce and industry and in which a simple money economy had evolved into capitalism. What I want to consider here is the problem of the Church and the papacy in this synthesis. To what extent do they fit? And to what extent does this approach to the interpretation of the Renaissance serve to illuminate a crucial segment in the history of the Church?

The conception of this period as peculiarly an age of transition makes it necessary to establish first of all a fairly definite idea of the nature of the civilizations that preceded and followed it. But, since historical thought

<sup>2</sup> W. K. Ferguson, "The Interpretation of the Renaissance: Suggestions for a Synthesis," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XII (1951), 483-95.

tends naturally toward a genetic treatment and, indeed, cannot avoid the problem of causation, the interpretation of a transitional age is necessarily bound up more closely with the age out of which it grew than with that into which it later developed. By far the greater part of the controversy over the character of the Renaissance has concentrated attention upon its relation to the Middle Ages. This is the essential problem of the Renaissance scholar. The question of the relation of the Renaissance to the following period belongs rather to scholars whose field of interest is the early modern period. That is their genetic headache; let us leave it to them. This may seem an irresponsible attitude, and I may be following too closely the example of that little bird, the prototype of all historians, who always liked to fly backwards, because he didn't care where he was going but liked to see where he had been. I think, however, that in so far as our interest is concentrated upon the transitional age itself, we must consider of first importance the question of what were the causes, nature, and extent of change. And that leads us back inevitably to the Middle Ages. As Carl Becker once remarked, a historian can describe anything only by first describing what it successively was before it became that which it will presently cease to be.

The origins of the Church, of course, carry us back to a period before the Middle Ages. From that early period it inherited not only its basic doctrine but also the concept of universality and the hierarchical organization that have remained constant throughout its history. In considering what was peculiarly medieval in the Church, however, and therefore likely to change with the passing of medieval civilization, we need go no further back than the centuries in which feudalism was taking shape, that is, roughly the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries. In these centuries, if we accept Pirenne's thesis, western Europe had been reduced to an almost purely agricultural economy. And I think we might describe feudalism as fundamentally the adaptation of social and political organization to an economy in which land was almost the only form of wealth. Under these circumstances, central governments lacked the financial resources to govern effectively, so that legal jurisdiction and governmental authority were parceled out among the great landholders. Under these circumstances, too, the clergy, as one of the two classes that did not work the land yet had a very important function to perform, became a landholding class. Even earlier, in the Merovingian period, bishops had become administrative officers with secular rule over their cities. Now, as feudal lords, the bishops and abbots became the rulers of fiefs, barons ecclesiastical with sovereign rights in their baronies. From this period on, the Church was committed to the exercise of temporal authority and to great pos-



sessions. But, by the nature of feudal tenure, a lord was also a vassal. And the barons ecclesiastical were at the same time vassals of secular lords: kings or emperors. From this arose much interference by laymen in the election of church officials, and the ill-omened figure of Simon Magus cast its shadow across the Church. This was the period in which the Church was most completely feudalized. In their dual capacity as feudal vassals and church officers, prelates were forced to divide their services, often somewhat unequally, between God and Mammon, but they also exercised a great deal of independent authority. The utter inadequacy of fiscal income made effective central government almost impossible for either the papacy or the monarchies, so that the conflict of secular and spiritual interests operated on the level of diocese and fief rather than of Church and state in the broader sense.

The eleventh century marked the beginning of a tremendous revival in every branch of medieval civilization. Regular commercial relations were re-established between Italy and the Levant. From the seacoasts trade spread inland until the whole of western Europe was covered with a network of trade routes along which traveled not only merchants but also pilgrims, crusaders, students, and churchmen on official business. At intervals along these trade routes old cities revived or new ones sprang up. They became centers of local trade and skilled industry and, at the same time, furnished a market for surplus agricultural products. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries were characterized by a steadily growing prosperity in both country and city. The population of western Europe probably doubled during this period. Money economy, reintroduced through commerce and industry in the cities, spread to the countryside and made possible the partial conversion of landed wealth into fluid wealth that could be mobilized and concentrated. But, though this economic revival received its initial impetus from trade and depended for its continuing growth on the growth of cities, European society still retained in main outlines the structure which had been given it by the feudal system and the Church. The vigorous culture which made the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the classic period of medieval civilization was preeminently the culture of the feudal nobility and the clergy.

Feudalism, indeed, lasted long after the passing of that condition of almost exclusive agricultural economy in which it had been formed and which had justified its existence. The rights and privileges of the dominant feudal classes were protected by their monopoly of military force, by long-established jurisdictional authority, and by custom so ingrained that no other form of social and political organization could be imagined. As Joseph Calmette has observed, feudalism had become a kind of Kantian category, in

terms of which the medieval mind perceived the social world.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, the growth of a money economy made possible, even in this period, the gradual recovery by central governments of some of the powers that had been lost in practice, if not in theory, during the early feudal era. In the early stages of this development, however, the government of the Church was in a position to take advantage of the new situation to better effect than were the feudal monarchies. Though partially feudalized in practice, the Church had never been as feudalized in theory as were the secular states. Its hierarchical principle was deeply rooted in both tradition and dogma. The feudal system, it is true, was also in theory hierarchical; but the feudal hierarchy consisted of a fortuitous network of personal relations which changed its form with each generation and which the accidents of marriage and inheritance rendered increasingly chaotic. The hierarchy of the Church, on the other hand, was a rationally organized administrative system, modeled upon that of the Roman Empire. Whereas the secular monarchies could establish effective state government only by destroying the feudal hierarchy as a political reality, the ecclesiastical monarchy had only to tighten its control of the hierarchy to make it an effective instrument of central government.

Even so, this was no easy task, for the officers of the Church were also vassals of emperors or kings. Bishops resisted the extension of papal authority not only because it infringed upon their independent diocesan jurisdiction but also because, in many cases, they felt a prior loyalty to the king or emperor who had nominated and enfeoffed them. This was the most serious obstacle to the growth of a strong centralized government in the Church. The vigorous assertion of the papal monarchy by Gregory VII led inevitably to the Investiture Controversy with the emperors and to less overt conflicts with other kings and princes. It also led to an unprecedented expansion of the claims of papal supremacy from the ecclesiastical into the temporal sphere. For, so long as the officers of the Church were also temporal lords, whose support was essential to secular rulers, the government of the Church could not be disassociated from that of the state. An effective papal monarchy within the Church could, therefore, be achieved only by establishing papal supremacy over the secular states. In this the popes were never entirely successful, but in the age of Innocent III they came very close to the fulfillment of their ambition. In their contest with the powers of this world the popes could count on the immense spiritual authority conferred upon them by unchallenged faith in the saving power of the Church. Their spiritual

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Calmette, *Le Monde féodal* (Paris, 1946), p. 169.

weapons were not yet blunted by overuse. They enjoyed the prestige of leading the military might of Christendom against the infidel; and they were actively supported by all the reforming elements in the monastic orders, by the doctors of the new scholastic learning, and by the development of canon law in the new universities. It must not be forgotten that the assertion of papal supremacy began as a reform movement at a time when reform of the Church was sadly needed. There is something, too, in Heinrich von Eicken's theory that the supremacy of the Church over temporal governments was the logical extension into practice of the ascetic conviction of the worthlessness of all things worldly.<sup>4</sup> At any rate, the concern with temporal affairs, which threatened eventually to secularize the Church, had in the twelfth century the full support of St. Bernard and all the most ascetic elements in both the secular and regular clergy.

Despite all these advantages, it is doubtful whether the papacy or the Church as an institution could have achieved the dominant position they held in the age of Innocent III if political and social life had not still been cast in the feudal mold—and that not only because secular governments were still too much weakened by feudal particularism to resist the encroachments of the spiritual authority upon the temporal sphere. The privileged legal status of the clergy fitted naturally into a society in which all legal status depended upon social status. The immunity of the clergy from secular jurisdiction was only one of many immunities, akin to that of the burghers or any other corporate body. The ecclesiastical courts and the canon law competed not with state courts and state law but with a bewildering variety of feudal and urban courts and laws. Everywhere the Church had the advantage that its institutions were universal, while those of the secular world were local and particular. The universality of the Church, indeed, found its perfect complement in the particularism and localism of feudal society. There could be little real conflict between a knight's loyalty to his immediate lord and the Christian's loyalty to the head of the *Respublica Christiana*. Seldom did these centuries witness any type of warfare between the extremes of the localized feudal brawl and the crusade against the infidel. Finally, it was largely due to the conditions of life in a feudal society that the clergy were able to maintain a practical monopoly of education. As the only class in society which had a felt need for these things, the clergy became the principal protagonists of learning, music, and art. They were thus able to give them a direction consonant with their own interests, and to place upon them the stamp of

<sup>4</sup> Heinrich von Eicken, *Geschichte und System der mittelalterlichen Weltanschauung* (Stuttgart, 1923), pp. 325 ff.



a universal uniformity that did much to impede the growth of national sentiment or national cultures. The feudal nobility had their vernacular literatures—troubadour lyric, chanson, romance, or Minnesang—but serious thought served the Church. The best brains of Europe functioned below a tonsure. And what medieval men had of visual beauty or the concourse of sweet sounds they owed to the universal Church.

The conditions so uniquely favorable to papal supremacy and to the dominant position of the Church in European society lasted until about the end of the thirteenth century. Even before that time, however, there were signs, though the cloud was no larger than a man's hand, that the halcyon days were passing. The conflict between the thirteenth-century popes and the viper brood of the Hohenstaufen ended in the practical destruction of the Empire. But, in the process, the papacy lost something of the moral prestige that had been its greatest asset in the days of the Investiture Controversy. A moral conflict had degenerated into a squabble over territorial sovereignty in Italy. The spiritual weapons of the Apostolic See had been used too freely in defense of the material patrimony of St. Peter, and popes had too often cried crusade when there was no crusade. So far as any contemporary could observe, however, the papacy was stronger than ever. The Empire was shattered, and, during the greater part of the thirteenth century, France was ruled by a saint and England by a pious fool, neither of whom would offer effective resistance to the spiritual ruler of Christendom. When in 1300 Boniface VIII proclaimed the first Jubilee Year, it seemed as though all Europe had come to Rome to pour its varied coinage into the papal coffers. Two years later, in the bull *Unam Sanctam*, Boniface proclaimed in uncompromising terms the subjection of the temporal to the spiritual authority and concluded by declaring that, for all human creatures, obedience to the Roman pontiff is altogether necessary to salvation. The storm that broke immediately thereafter indicated the extent to which conditions had changed. Philip the Fair was no saint, and Edward I no pious fool. Nor were these sovereigns content to act as mere feudal suzerains within their kingdoms. The reigns of these two kings mark the first decisive stage in the transition from feudal to national monarchy, and a national monarch, determined to be master in his own state, could scarcely tolerate either the papal claims to supremacy or the immunity of the clergy from royal jurisdiction and royal taxation. In the rising national monarchies the papacy met for the first time a secular power too strong for it. The arrest of the aged pope at Anagni marked the end of a period which had opened with an emperor standing barefoot in the snow before the gates of Canossa.

The crisis precipitated by the conflict between Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair led to a series of events which seriously undermined the authority and prestige of the papacy; the long exile at Avignon under the shadow of the French monarchy, the scandal of the Great Schism, the conciliar movement, and the anarchy in the Papal States. All of these events aggravated the difficulties inherent in the position of the Church in a changing world. Yet their significance may easily be exaggerated. The anarchy in the Papal States which made Rome unsafe was not new. There had been schisms before the Great Schism, and antipopes before Clement VII. As Guillaume Mollat has recently pointed out, the absence of the popes from Rome was not unprecedented nor necessarily disastrous.<sup>5</sup> It has been calculated, indeed, that "between the years 1100 and 1304, that is, two hundred and four years, the popes lived one hundred and twenty-two outside Rome and eighty-two in Rome: a difference of forty years in favor of absence."<sup>6</sup>

What seems to me more significant than these external events in the history of the papacy is the profound though gradual change which took place in the whole civilization of western Europe in the three centuries following 1300. It was a change caused by the interaction of political and social factors, complicated by shifts in the social balance and by the imponderable element of a changing *Weltanschauung*. But one factor at least was, I think, of basic importance: the expansion within feudal society of a money economy during the preceding two or three hundred years. By the end of the thirteenth century it had begun to disintegrate a system never intended for it. Even before that time, the manorial system, with its exchange of labor and produce for the use of land and its closely integrated relation of landholders to dependent workers, had begun to be replaced by a system of cash payments—of rents, leases, and wages. The result was a fundamental change in the economic and social foundations of feudalism. The disrupting effect of this change was aggravated by widespread famines in the early years of the fourteenth century, by the depopulation of Europe resulting from the Black Death and the succession of only relatively less fatal epidemics that followed, by the devastation of France during the Hundred Years' War, by the cessation of colonization and of the assarting of waste land, in short by a series of economic crises and depressions which bred intense social unrest and seriously undermined the economic stability of the feudal classes, including the landholding clergy, and loosened their hold upon the land and its people.

At the same time that the economic and social foundations of feudalism

<sup>5</sup> Guillaume Mollat, *Les Papes d'Avignon* (Paris, 1949), pp. 9 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Louis Gayet, *Le Grand Schisme d'Occident* (Florence, 1889), p. 3.

were crumbling, the political and jurisdictional powers of the feudal nobles were being absorbed by the central governments in the great national states and in the smaller principalities of Germany and the Netherlands, as they had been already in the city-states of Italy. The money economy which undermined the independence of the feudal classes served to increase the powers of central government. Money furnished the sinews of administration as of war, and though the total wealth of the European states may not have increased materially during the period of economic crisis from 1300 to about 1450, governments everywhere were learning to utilize the available wealth to better effect by levying new taxes, by imposing import, export, and excise duties, by borrowing from the great Italian banking houses, and, in general, by evolving a more efficient fiscal system. The change in military technique from the feudal array to the royal armies and mercenary companies of the Hundred Years' War is but one symptom of a process which, by the end of the fifteenth century, had subordinated feudal particularism to royal absolutism and had transformed the feudal vassal of the Middle Ages into the courtier of the early modern period.

Meanwhile, in the urban centers of commerce and industry an equally fundamental change was taking place. Even before 1300, in Italy and the Netherlands, a simple money economy had begun to develop into an embryonic capitalist system. That development continued steadily during the following centuries and spread to all parts of western Europe. The first hundred and fifty years or so of this period, it is true, lacked the steadily expanding prosperity of the preceding centuries. There were periods of acute depression and social unrest in all the great commercial and industrial cities during the fourteenth century. Some cities declined, while others grew. It is difficult to estimate how much the wealth of the cities actually increased during this period. There is, however, ample evidence of an increasing concentration of wealth and of a revolutionary development in the techniques of capitalist business enterprise. One result, the cultural and religious implications of which I shall return to later, was the spread of lay education in the cities; another, the growth of an urban patriciate composed of laymen who had the wealth, leisure, and cultivated taste to fit them for active participation in any form of intellectual or aesthetic culture. Still another result, the implications of which are more germane to my present argument, was the evolution by merchants, bankers, and financiers of new and more efficient methods of book-keeping and accounting, as well as of more efficient techniques for the mobilization and transportation of money in large quantities. The development of state fiscal systems, the more rational accounting intro-

duced into state chanceries, the hard-headed calculation behind the pious façade of royal policies, even the national bankruptcies that mark this period, are all evidence of the application to public finance of techniques and attitudes first worked out in the domain of private capitalist enterprise.

All of these changes operated, directly or indirectly, to alter the character of medieval society; and, inasmuch as the Church had adapted itself with remarkable success to medieval conditions, any change was almost certain to be prejudicial to it. And, in fact, it did become increasingly difficult for the Church to maintain its dominant position in society and for the papacy to maintain the temporal supremacy it had won in the feudal era. At the same time, the papacy could not conceivably abandon without a struggle powers and privileges which the Church had possessed for centuries and had exercised for the good of the Christian community and for the salvation of souls. Not only would the abandonment of its traditional policy have involved encroachment upon too many vested interests; it would also have involved a grave dereliction of duty, the abdication of a responsibility for the moral government of Christendom that had been asserted by saints and popes and rationalized by centuries of canon law and scholastic argument. But to maintain its position under the new conditions, the government of the Church would have to fight with new weapons. It would have to meet the growing centralization of state administration with an increased centralization in the administration of the Church; and, as money became more and more the essential source of power, it would have to rival the fiscal system of state governments by establishing a more efficient fiscal system of its own. Or so it must have seemed to anyone likely to achieve high office in the Church. There were mystics, like the spiritual Franciscans, who felt differently, and reformers, like John Wycliffe, whose conviction that wealth and power were a hindrance rather than a help to the Church drove them into heresy. But mystics are seldom successful politicians, even ecclesiastical politicians, and spiritually-minded reformers who advocated a return to apostolic poverty or the abandonment to Caesar of the things that were Caesar's were not likely to rise to positions of great authority in an institution committed to great possessions and to the exercise of temporal power. Yet the fiscal system and the concentration of administrative authority in the papal curia, both of which were developed with such skill by the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century popes, should not be considered simply the result of official will to power or avarice in high places. To the hierarchical mind there must have seemed no alternative. The changing policy of the Church as it strove to meet changing conditions must have seemed merely

the continuation through new methods of the traditional policy of the preceding centuries. No Biblical injunction warned of the danger of putting old wine into new bottles.

Nevertheless, the development within the Church of a highly organized and centralized fiscal system implied more than the mere adaptation to old ends of a new means. Hitherto, the papal supremacy had been founded largely upon moral authority. The wealth of the Church had remained, even after the reintroduction of money economy, to a great extent decentralized. It was wealth drawn largely from land and held by the officers of the local church organization. By the end of the thirteenth century, however, the increased circulation of money, together with the growth of new techniques of bookkeeping, banking, and exchange, had made possible an effective system of taxation in both Church and state. Thereafter, the centralization of governmental authority and the elaboration of a fiscal system went hand in hand. In this the papacy was simply keeping pace with the secular governments. But the results were different, for the Church was not a secular institution devoted solely to secular ends, though its officers may occasionally have lost sight of this fact in their preoccupation with *Realpolitik*. The possession of wealth had always carried with it the threat of a materialism that might sap the spiritual vigor of the Church. Since the days of Peter Damiani preachers had complained that men were inspired to seek office in the Church by avarice and ambition. So long as the wealth of the Church remained decentralized, however, its central government had remained relatively uncontaminated. Under the new conditions not only the wealth but the materialism that went with it, seemed to be concentrated in an unprecedented degree in the papal curia. Contemporary wits noticed that the word Roma furnished an acrostic base for the apothegm *radix omnium malorum avaritia*.

Nor did the danger end there, for the blight of fiscality spread throughout the Church. The increasing demands of the papal curia forced preoccupation with finance upon all the officers of the Church down to the parish level. And the effort of the papal chancery to introduce a fiscal system into an institution that had never been designed for it led inevitably to the systematization of simony and to traffic in spiritual goods. The fourteenth-century popes, it is true, were very largely successful in gaining that control of the nomination of prelates for which the medieval popes had labored in vain. But, as Dean Inge once remarked, in matters of religion nothing fails like success. The reservation to the papal curia of the right of nomination to vacant benefices throughout Christendom did not achieve a reform of the Church. On the contrary, fiscal pressures, diplomatic negotiations with

secular princes, and nepotism in the curia made papal provisions the source of new abuses: absenteeism, duplication of offices, traffic in expectancies, the outright sale of benefices, and close calculation of the financial value of every office. Through the imposition of annates and *servitia* the system also imposed a crushing tax upon benefices, so that many of the charitable and other services expected of the local clergy were left undone. I need not describe here the fiscal expedients to which that financial genius, John XXII, and the other popes of this period resorted. Nor need I emphasize their deleterious effects upon clerical morality. These things are well enough known. Conditions were doubtless never as bad as the reforming preachers would have us believe. One cannot, however, entirely ignore the evidence of a cloud of witnesses to the effect that secular and material interests had done much to corrupt the spiritual character of the clergy, high and low. The pamphlet literature of the conciliar movement furnishes ample evidence of a widespread demand for reform of the Church in head and members, and of a growing conviction that reform could be achieved only by depriving the papal monarchy of some of its sovereign powers.

The conciliar movement, however, was by its very nature doomed to failure. Its constitutional theory ran counter to the trend of growing absolutism in the state as well as in the Church. The position of the bishops had been weakened by many of the same political and economic factors as had undermined the independence of the feudal nobles. The principle of free canonical election, for which the councils strove, had for centuries been no more than partially realized, and it was now a lost cause. It served the interest of the kings no more than of the popes. Finally, the whole conception of the ecumenical council as an international body governing a universal Church had become partially anachronistic. In practice, at any rate, it was vitiated by the intrusion of national governments, national interests, and national sentiments, which divided the councils and frustrated the attempt to impose a permanent control upon the papal executive.

The popes were thus able to weather the storm of the conciliar movement, and they emerged with their theoretical sovereignty intact and with a stronger hold than ever upon the administration of the Church. If so much was won, however, much also was lost. During the crisis years of the Captivity and the Schism the popes had gradually abandoned in practice their claims to supremacy over secular rulers. The fifteenth-century popes made their peace with kings and princes through a series of tacit agreements or formal concordats, by which they shared the nomination of church officers and the taxation of the clergy with the secular rulers. In England, the



Statute of Provisors, which the fourteenth-century parliaments had used as an instrument to check papal provisions to English benefices, was allowed to become a dead letter. The English kings were content to leave to the popes the right of provision, and incidentally the annates or *servitia* paid by those who received their benefices by papal collation, on the tacit understanding that a certain number of royal ministers or favorites would be nominated. A similar tacit agreement to share some of the fruits of the papal right of provision in Germany with the emperor and the electors underlay the formal Concordat of Vienna of 1448, by means of which Nicholas V won the emperor Frederick III away from the Council of Basel. The French monarchy, long accustomed to special consideration by the Avignonese popes, proved more difficult to deal with. The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges in 1438 was a unilateral assertion of the liberties of the Gallican Church, and for more than half a century it remained a threat to the principle of papal sovereignty. The theory of papal authority was finally saved by the Concordat of Bologna in 1516, but only at the cost of surrendering to Francis I the most profitable fruits of control of the national church.

In the system of concordats the papacy made its first adjustment to a world of strong secular states. The popes made such practical concessions as were necessary, without apparent impairment of their own *plenitudo potestatis*. For an estimate of the results we can scarcely do better than quote Professor McIlwain's masterly summary:

They were concessions only. But they were concessions guaranteed by a bilateral document in the nature of a treaty, which implies two treaty-making powers. The concordats were in fact the price the Papacy paid for its victory over the councils and it was a price heavier than appeared at the time. They were a tacit acknowledgement of the sovereignty of national states and they mark the virtual end of the medieval theory that Christendom in its secular aspect is one great state as in its spiritual it is a single Church. From such an admission the logical inference must come sooner or later that the Church is *in* every nation instead of embracing all nations, and this can ultimately mean only that its functions are primarily spiritual and that its participation in secular matters is never justifiable except for a spiritual end—*ad finem spiritualem*.<sup>7</sup>

That was undoubtedly the ultimate result; but it was not the moral immediately drawn from the situation by the popes in the century between the Council of Basel and the Council of Trent. Having failed to maintain the universal sovereignty that had been possible in the feudal age, they concentrated their attention upon restoring their temporal sovereignty in their own states. In this transitional stage, the popes became Italian princes.

<sup>7</sup> C. H. McIlwain, *The Growth of Political Thought in the West* (New York, 1932), p. 352.

They suppressed the independent despotisms in the Papal States by force; they employed armies of mercenaries, waged wars, made and broke alliances, and in general took their place as one of the powers in the state system of Europe. In this period political expediency dominated papal policy, though fiscal considerations were not neglected. The College of Cardinals now included members of the ruling families of Italy and the chief ministers of the great European states. Never before had the papacy seemed so securely established as a temporal power, but never before had its power seemed so purely temporal as it did in the age of Alexander VI and Julius II. This was its period of greatest peril. On the one hand the pope, as temporal ruler of the states of the Church, was no more than a third-rate power, on the level more or less of Milan or Florence. In the game of power politics he was no match for France or Spain. In 1527 the papacy that had chosen to live by the sword came very close to perishing by the sword, and thereafter the popes, as temporal rulers, were drawn into the Spanish sphere of influence, becoming satellites whose foreign policy was dominated by Spanish kings. On the other hand, the preoccupation of the papal curia with temporal politics during these crisis years made it peculiarly unfitted to combat the spiritual revolution that broke out in Germany and that, within two generations, separated half of northern Europe permanently from the Church of Rome. The papacy survived this crisis too, with its sovereignty over what remained of the Church strengthened rather than weakened; but it did so only by ceasing to compete with secular states upon their own terms, by withdrawing into the spiritual sphere in which its authority was unchallenged, by restating the doctrines of the Church in the spirit of the great scholastic age, by employing the militia of the Society of Jesus rather than hired mercenaries, and by leaving coercive jurisdiction to the secular arm of state governments. Not that the temporal power of the papacy, the privileged status of the clergy, and the great possessions of the Church were completely abandoned in the Counter-Reformation. Much remained that would be whittled away only very gradually in the following centuries. But, by the end of the sixteenth century, the main lines which were to be followed in the Church's adjustment to the modern world were already clearly indicated. The transition from medieval to modern forms was nearly complete.

So far I have concentrated attention primarily upon the papacy and the Church in their relation to the secular states. That, however, is only a part of the problem of assessing the position of the Church in the changing civilization of the Renaissance. The relation of the Church to contemporary

changes in culture, religious sentiment, and general *Weltanschauung* is of equal if not greater importance, but it is less easy to summarize in a brief paper. Here I can do no more than make a few general observations.

One factor of primary importance for the whole cultural evolution of the Renaissance period, it seems to me, was the growth of lay education. This was not an entirely unknown phenomenon in the Middle Ages. As James Westfall Thompson and others have demonstrated, there was more literacy, at least, among medieval laymen than historians used to suppose, though that is not saying very much.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, the magnificent intellectual and aesthetic achievements of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, if we exclude the vernacular literature of chivalry, was almost entirely the work of clerics and was patronized, organized, and directed by the Church *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*. Under feudal conditions the nobles had little use for learning and less for art, while the burghers had not yet acquired the wealth, social security, or independent cultural tradition that would enable them to compete with the clergy in this sphere. In Italy, however, before the end of the thirteenth century, and in other countries of western Europe somewhat later, the social and economic development of the cities had reached a point where literacy was a necessity, and higher education a possibility, for the middle and upper classes of the urban population. To this end the growth of communal governments staffed by lay administrators, increasing prosperity, and the gradual evolution of a more self-confident burgher tradition all contributed. But on a purely material level the major factor, I think, was the expansion of business enterprise which accompanied the transition from itinerant to sedentary commerce, and the growth of capitalist forms of business organization. This involved, on the one hand, bookkeeping, written instruments of credit and exchange, accurate calculation of profit and loss, complicated negotiations with distant agents or partners, and a much more precise definition of civil law, all of which made literacy indispensable for everyone connected with business in any managerial capacity and also called into being a numerous learned class of lay lawyers, scribes, and notaries. On the other hand, it resulted in the concentration of wealth and the accumulation of surplus capital which furnished the means for lay patronage of literature, learning, and the arts. It also created a new class of leisured *rentiers*, who lived on inherited wealth and were free to devote themselves to intellectual or aesthetic interests. The concentration of both wealth and political power in royal or princely courts served the same purpose in slightly different ways. Such courts became centers for the patronage and dissemina-

<sup>8</sup> J. W. Thompson, *The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1939).

tion of lay culture, and so exposed the courtly nobility to a wider range of cultural interests than had been available in the isolated baronial castles of the feudal era. After 1450 the invention of printing vastly increased the lay reading public and tipped the scale decisively in favor of lay participation in all forms of literary culture; but that epoch-making invention was itself the answer to a demand already large enough to ensure its being a profitable venture.

The spread of lay education and lay patronage and the growth of a distinct class of lay men of letters greatly expanded the secular content of Renaissance culture. This does not imply any necessary decline in religious sentiment. On the contrary, it was accompanied in many places by a pronounced growth in lay piety. Nevertheless, it was detrimental in many ways to the dominant position which the Church had acquired in medieval society. It deprived the Church of its exclusive control of higher education and the clergy of their monopoly of learning and serious thought. And it created a rival, if not an antagonist, to the ecclesiastical culture of the preceding centuries. Evidence of this may be found everywhere in Renaissance music and art, as well as in literature and learning. The revival of antiquity is but one aspect, if the most prominent, of this general trend. Humanism grew up largely as a lay interest, the offspring of lay education, though many humanists were technically clerics. It was, at any rate, not controlled and directed by the Church as scholasticism had been, and it may even be said to have imposed itself upon the Church in the person of such popes as Nicholas V and Pius II and the scores of humanists highly placed in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. In the long run, humanism of the Erasmian variety inspired the most telling attacks upon the temporal power, wealth, and materialism of the Church in the period just preceding the Protestant Reformation.

The reforming Christian humanism of the Erasmian circle represents another aspect of the danger to the medieval Church inherent in the spread of lay education. As I noted in passing, this was accompanied in many places by a distinct revival of lay piety. But the lay piety inspired by mystical preachers like Eckhart and Tauler, and represented by such movements as that of the Friends of God in the Rhineland or the *Devotio Moderna* in the Netherlands, was in large part a reaction against the sacerdotalism of the Church, its mechanization of the means of salvation and the materialism of the contemporary clergy. It is clear that in these years of crisis the Church was not satisfying the spiritual needs of many thoughtful and pious laymen. Left to find their own way toward a sense of personal communion with Christ, they

read the New Testament and devotional works which, while entirely orthodox, still had the effect of shifting the emphasis in religious thought from the services of the Church to the inner life of faith and a loving devotion to the person of Christ. It was this peculiarly lay piety that Erasmus, who had been taught in his early years by the Brethren of the Common Life, introduced to a wide circle of educated readers in the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* and a score of other works less ostensibly devotional.

It may be, too, that the growing bourgeois ethic, if I know what I mean, was in these centuries drifting away from the moral teaching and ascetic ideals of the medieval Church. The pious burgher, sober and hard-working, may well have resented the attitude of the doctors of the Church who barely tolerated commercial activity; and he may also have been tempted to regard the monks, especially such monks as he saw about him, as men who had not so much fled the pleasures and temptations of the world as escaped from its responsibilities. Finally, the intellectual independence which education gave to laymen, together with the individualism fostered by a complex and changing society, might well have made men less ready to accept without question the absolute authority of the Church in matters of doctrine or the claim of the clergy to be the indispensable purveyors of the means of salvation. There has, I think, been a good deal of confused thinking concerning the relationship of capitalism to Protestantism. Nevertheless, I think there can be little doubt that the economic and social conditions which made possible a widespread lay literacy and stimulated a growing sense of self-confident individualism did, at the same time, create an intellectual and moral atmosphere favorable to the reception of Luther's doctrine of the freedom of a Christian man and the priesthood of all believers.

Consideration of the Protestant Reformation, however, except as it affected the Catholic Church, lies beyond the scope of the present discussion. The Church survived this crisis also, with its membership sadly diminished but with its divinely inspired authority strongly reaffirmed. Though papal infallibility was not yet a dogma, the popes after Trent enjoyed an absolute authority in matters of faith and morals greater than that of even their most authoritative medieval predecessors. In the cultural and religious, as well as in the political and administrative fields, the Counter-Reformation completed the Church's adjustment to the modern world. Since then it has changed but relatively little. Yet, if I have assessed aright the predominant characteristics of modern civilization, it was no more than a partial adjustment, and was in some respects a reaction. It was certainly no surrender to the new elements that had grown up within Western civilization since the

High Middle Ages. It was rather an orderly retreat to a previously prepared position. The withdrawal of the Church into the spiritual sphere in which its authority could still be exercised in absolute fashion involved not only the abdication of temporal supremacy but also the partial rejection of the secular philosophies, the natural sciences, and large areas of the autonomous lay culture that grew out of the Renaissance. While making concessions where concessions were unavoidable, and abandoning such claims to authority in secular matters as changing conditions had made untenable, the Church returned after the Counter-Reformation, though in a more purely spiritual sense, to the conception of its nature and function that had been formulated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. What it could not dominate it rejected, and so maintained, in an ever-shrinking sphere, the authoritative direction of human activity that, in the Middle Ages, had approached a universal domination of the temporal as well as the spiritual life of the Christian community.

But if the Church thus finally succeeded in adapting the medieval ideal to the realities of the modern world, it did so only after a series of well-nigh disastrous crises, which lend to its history during the transitional period a special character. If we consider the events and the changes in ecclesiastical polity that fill the years between the death of Boniface VIII and the period of reconstruction after the Council of Trent, and if we take as the common factor in all of them the efforts, often misguided or self-defeating, of the Church and the papacy to maintain the position they had achieved during the Middle Ages in the midst of a social complex that was being radically altered by new economic, political, and cultural forces, we may, I think, safely conclude that the three centuries of the Renaissance constitute a distinct period in Church history, and that to treat them as such will serve to clarify much that might otherwise remain obscure. The Renaissance Church and the Renaissance papacy were neither medieval nor modern; rather they were caught in a state of uneasy maladjustment between two worlds. It is the distinguishing mark of a genuinely transitional period that the unresolved conflict between traditional institutions and ways of thinking on the one hand, and, on the other, changing economic, political, and social conditions creates a state of acute crisis. The Renaissance was such a period, and the effects of the conflict, as well as the fundamental causes, are, I believe, nowhere more clearly evident than in the history of the Church.

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# Colleges in Ferment

GEORGE PAUL SCHMIDT

## I

AMERICA a hundred years ago may have been the most dynamic and rapidly changing society on the face of the earth, but the average American college campus was not aware of it. There, under the elms, tradition ruled. From their sheltered halls the leaders of the academic world, with few exceptions, looked out self-satisfied on the turbulence of the marketplace, and offered a centuries-old way of living and thinking as the all-sufficient answer to the problems of the age. But their days of complacency were numbered, for intellectual and economic forces were gathering momentum which, together with the impending political upheaval, would shake the colleges out of the doldrums and effect a fundamental change in the character of higher education in the United States.

An even century separated the founding of Dartmouth, last of the colonial colleges, and the accession of President Eliot at Harvard. This century, with a few years' leeway at either end, was the era of the college, the time when this unique American institution dominated the field without serious challenge. Between 150 and 200 of them—the exact number is difficult to ascertain since “college” was a term of hopeful ambition rather than of precise definition—had, by 1860, survived a precarious and often intensely competitive infancy and were dispensing the current version of a liberal education to some 20,000 young men and a handful of young women.<sup>1</sup> Some of the largest, as Yale, North Carolina, Virginia, could boast of about five hundred undergraduates each, but the great majority were affairs of a hundred or fewer students. Expansion was slow: in the northeastern states, between 1840 and 1860, college enrollment was not even keeping pace with population growth. Faculties ranged in size from twenty-four at Harvard (1860) to a president and a couple of tutors at some of the little freshwater “colleges”

<sup>1</sup> One hundred colleges are listed in *The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge* for 1841, with the caution that some of these are really academies; the *Seventh Census of the United States*, 1850, counts 234 for that year, but probably includes many short-lived schools; Donald G. Tewksbury, *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities before the Civil War* (New York, 1932), gives a figure of 182 at the opening of the war. The enrollment figure of 20,000 is an estimate, based on the number of undergraduates in twenty of the larger colleges for 1859-60 (*American Almanac* for 1860), which I counted at 4,837.

where thirty or forty students, one small building, a shelf of Latin and Greek classics, and a few biological specimens constituted the enterprise.

In all the colleges, large and small, the president and faculty conducted a paternalistic regime and exercised direct control over the lives of the students. The latter responded in kind. Cruder forms of undergraduate behavior, to be sure, were disappearing from the more sophisticated schools, along with the hunting rifle and the old oaken bucket. Tying the president's cow in chapel, setting fire to the dormitory, throwing beer bottles at professors, and similar extravagances were losing the social sanction they had enjoyed in pioneer days. But anything like adult behavior of a scholar at a university was still a rarity, and organized, responsible student government in the dim future. The maintenance of discipline, that is the continuous suppression of animal instincts and inculcation of the Puritan code of ethics, remained a major duty of college authorities. In its performance presidents and faculties vacillated between an optimistic perfectionism and the more easily verifiable doctrine of total human depravity.

The curriculum was a venerable affair. Historically it was Aristotle via Aquinas topped off with the Renaissance. Its lineaments had been sketched in the Elizabethan Statutes for Cambridge in 1570 and the Laudian Code for Oxford in 1636,<sup>2</sup> whence it had been transplanted, in limited form, to Harvard by the Rev. Henry Dunster and to William and Mary by Commissary James Blair. Spreading from these first two American colleges, with modifications and adjustments, this inherited body of knowledge and techniques had become the standard intellectual fare on virtually every campus in the land. To meet its requirements freshmen and sophomores spent by far the greatest part of their classroom time translating a selected number of Greek and Latin classics and acquiring, it was fondly hoped, a disciplined mind and a free spirit in the process. The remainder of the program in the two lower years was mathematics, natural philosophy (the rudiments of physics and chemistry), and rhetoric. In the junior and senior years the classics tapered off to give way to increasing amounts of logic, metaphysics, and ethics. A smattering of history, English literature, French, or political economy—with various colleges claiming “firsts” in each field—rounded out the program. That was the mid-nineteenth-century version of a liberal education; inflexible and irreducible, it was the *sine qua non* for a degree of bachelor of arts.

Attempts to break the lockstep had not been wanting. Ever since Ben-

<sup>2</sup> Phyllis Allen, “Scientific Studies in 17th Century English Universities,” *Journal of the History of Ideas*, X (April, 1949).

jamin Franklin, when proposing what was to become the University of Pennsylvania, had questioned its universal validity, the traditional curriculum had been under fire. But it was a desultory attack and, on the whole, not very effective. A handful of college presidents came to the conclusion, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, that a three-hundred-year-old course of study designed for an elite of scholars and gentlemen was probably not the best education for the sons of farmers, merchants, and ministers in a changing society where European class distinctions were rapidly leveling down. So they tried to change the pattern to meet the needs of the age. Prominent among the innovators were Eliphalet Nott of Union College, Francis Wayland of Brown, Philip Lindsley of the University of Nashville, and Henry Tappan of the University of Michigan. Their plans were not all alike, but all aimed at one of two things: a horizontal or a vertical expansion of the program of the college, or a combination of both. The young men of America, so all these reformers felt, should have a chance to study modern as well as ancient languages, the new sciences as well as formal philosophy, and to choose between them. Furthermore, the new as well as the traditional subjects should be taught on a higher level—this was Tappan's program at Michigan—by ripe scholars to mature students, after the fashion of the genuine universities of Europe. But when the prophets of new ideals tried to set up their brave new world they encountered the concerted opposition of well-entrenched conservatives and vested interests and in the end they had little to show for their pains.<sup>3</sup>

Another type of deviationist, also very much in the minority, was the crusading college president who used his office, and sometimes his students, as weapons in the fight against sin, which usually meant slavery, liquor, or Freemasonry. Edward Beecher was such a paladin. While president of Illinois College, which he tried to convert into an antislavery outpost in the West, he was among those who stood guard over the abolitionist press at Alton the night before Lovejoy's murder. Another Illinois college, Knox, was used for similar purposes. Here Jonathan Blanchard, a Vermonter who had begun his career as reformer by smashing a jug of rum in his father's cellar, tried to train up a body of students who would be potent witnesses against liquor and slavery. Blanchard was also a life-long anti-Mason; and along with all these activities he found time for an occasional lecture on the wrongs of Ireland. Still another center of reform of all kinds was Oberlin, a colony of New England perfectionists whose first two presidents, Asa

<sup>3</sup>This story has been told in detail in "Intellectual Crosscurrents in American Colleges, 1825-1855," *American Historical Review*, XLII (October, 1936).

Mahan and the evangelist Charles G. Finney, were ardent crusaders, and where the good life included not only help for escaped slaves but a firm stand against liquor, tobacco, dancing, cards, checkers, and chess.<sup>4</sup> An echo of the reform phase of higher education, and at the same time an admission of its failure, came from Wendell Phillips many years later, when in an address at Harvard he castigated the colleges for allowing others to take the lead in the agitation of the great social questions of the time, such as slavery, temperance, women's rights, and Irish independence.<sup>5</sup>

Neither the logic of the progressives nor the zeal of the crusaders was powerful enough, before 1860, to upset the status quo. They could not muster enough support to undermine the prevailing orthodoxy, religious or literary. The classicists were still in the saddle, perhaps a bit shaken but not, so it seemed, in any serious danger. A few concessions had had to be made to popular whim. These took the form, usually, of separate science and language schools which vegetated, after the first impetus, with small enrollments and little prestige. They were useful, so the conservatives admitted, to drain off the rag, tag, and bobtail that could not stand the gaff of a real education.

The central bastion of the conservative forces was Yale, largest and most influential college in the country. Here President Day and his faculty, annoyed at the persistent sniping of the educational guerillas, had drawn up a weighty and dignified report designed to deflate the rebels and end the annoyance once and for all. The Yale Report, published in 1827,<sup>6</sup> laid down the guide lines for the defenders of the classical tradition and insured their control for the next half-century. Forceful in expression and rigorous in logic, the report was essentially an exposition and a defense of the theory of mental discipline. With much disdain for innovators and visionaries who would debase the intellectual coinage, it argued, simply, that colleges exist for the "furniture and discipline of the mind" and that of the two discipline is by far the more important. Mental vigor is developed by a balanced diet of Latin and Greek, mathematics and philosophy, which must be taken in full strength, uncontaminated by "practical" courses and undiluted by sugary electives, and which is dispensed in the classroom by the authority of the professor and the chosen text. That was the credo of the conservatives. By and

<sup>4</sup> Beecher, *Narrative of the Riots at Alton* (Alton, Ill., 1838); Blanchard, autobiographical sketch in *Sermons and Addresses* (Chicago, 1892); *Laws and Regulations of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute*, 1840; article on Finney in *Dictionary of American Biography*.

<sup>5</sup> Phi Beta Kappa address at Harvard in 1881, in *Speeches, Lectures, and Addresses* (Boston, 1892), pp. 349 f.

<sup>6</sup> It appeared in Benjamin Silliman's *American Journal of Science*, XV, 297 ff.

large, it remained the philosophy of Yale well into the 1870's, to the days of President Noah Porter, a scholar and gentleman of the old school who made a last-ditch stand against the alarming heresies of Eliot which by that time were setting the educational world by the ears. Robert N. Corwin, late chairman of the Yale Board of Admissions, and a student in Porter's day, remembered the spirit of Yale in his memoir:

In those classical days, none questioned the right and few the ability of the college faculty to prescribe the subjects best suited to training the mind. Mental training rather than intellectual interest was then the watchword and our professors held fast to the procedures which had been hallowed by immemorial service. Harvard had, to be sure, recently gone modern and optional. Her vagaries we viewed with alarm and saw in them all the more reason why we should hold high and firm the torch of learning. Sheff [Sheffield Scientific School] had long since had well-established and successful elective group courses manned by distinguished scholars, but Sheff did not count, at least not in the affirmative. Under a former Sheff professor, Johns Hopkins had become a pathfinder. Cornell and Michigan and others were extending their courses into new fields of science and technology, but we knew better.<sup>7</sup>

So far as Porter was concerned, the good old curriculum was good enough for Yale.

But not only for Yale; the influence of this confession of faith extended far beyond New Haven, for Yale was respected on the campuses of the nation, having furnished more presidents to the newer institutions of the South and West than any other American college. Second only to Yale in the range of its influence was Princeton, and here too the classicists held sway.<sup>8</sup> In his inaugural address in 1854 President John Maclean announced the policy for Princeton: the status quo would be maintained with its standard curriculum designed for mental discipline, and there would be no toying with foolish electives. "We shall not aim at innovation. No chimerical experiments in education have ever had the least countenance here."<sup>9</sup> It was at Princeton, too, though at the theological seminary, that the revered Charles Hodge, Biblical scholar and ardent anti-evolutionist, expressed his satisfaction, on the occasion of his semicentennial in office, that in all his fifty years not a single new idea had come out of Princeton.<sup>10</sup> Academic and theological orthodoxy went hand in hand.

<sup>7</sup> Robert N. Corwin, *The Plain Unpolished Tale of the Workaday Doings of Modest Folk* (New Haven, 1948), p. 76. See also, George W. Pierson, *Yale College . . . 1871-1921* (New Haven, 1952), pp. 57 f.; Morris Hadley, *Arthur Twining Hadley* (New Haven, 1948), pp. 102 f.

<sup>8</sup> Their numerous graduates contributed to the strength of the classical tradition.

<sup>9</sup> John Maclean, *History of the College of New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1877), II, 421.

<sup>10</sup> *Proceedings connected with the Semi-Centennial . . . of Rev. Charles Hodge*, Apr. 24, 1872.

A few glimpses of other institutions will round out the picture. Columbia, up to President Barnard's accession in 1864, was a small uncomplicated college where trustees' resolutions were still in effect requiring student and faculty attendance at prayers, and where the library was open to students from one to three on weekdays; the status of the sciences may be inferred from a catalogue directive permitting Professor Torrey to give a series of lectures in botany "at such hours as will not interfere with the regular studies of the undergraduates."<sup>11</sup>

Even Harvard, with by far the largest library, with a proliferation of professional schools, and with men like Agassiz, Gray, Sparks, and Peirce to give prestige to its faculty, had not entirely escaped the blight. Its historian characterizes the situation there in the sixties as follows:

Harvard College was hidebound, the Harvard Law School senescent, the Medical School ineffective, and the Lawrence Scientific School "the resort of shirkers and stragglers" . . . something must be done, and that quickly, or Harvard would degenerate into a mere cultural backwater: desire under the elms, and not much desire at that.<sup>12</sup>

For twenty years the announcements of courses in the Harvard Law School had not been altered by a single letter. Classes were not graded and no examinations were given. The entire program was covered in a two-year sequence of lectures. A student might start in at any time, remain until the merry-go-round of lectures returned to his point of entry and then, with a "here's where I came in" walk off with his diploma. The three professors who made up the law faculty considered this situation "eminently satisfactory."<sup>13</sup> Henry Adams, a decade earlier, had dismissed his whole Harvard education, with the exception of his work under Agassiz, as a failure: "The entire work of the four years could have been easily put into the work of any four months in after life."<sup>14</sup> While the performance of a Henry Adams could hardly be considered par for the course, it does seem that the Cambridge undergraduates of mid-century were far from working at maximum efficiency: Harvard, like the rest, was wallowing in the doldrums.

And so the ancient tradition of scholarly and theological orthodoxy, issuing forth from Yale and Princeton, blanketed the land, like a great intellectual glacier, making the high places plain and chilling the ardor of innovators and reformers. Few could stand up against this pressure. Only

<sup>11</sup> *Resolutions Passed by the Trustees of Columbia College from 1820 to 1868* (New York, 1868); *Annual Catalogue*, 1862-63; Charles F. Thwing, *A History of Higher Education in America* (New York, 1906), p. 413.

<sup>12</sup> Samuel E. Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 324.

<sup>13</sup> Henry James, *Charles W. Eliot* (Boston, 1930), I, 266 f.

<sup>14</sup> *The Education of Henry Adams* (New York, 1931), p. 60.



the University of Virginia, with its eight separate schools and its Jeffersonian tradition of freedom, had managed to maintain an independent position; and its influence was limited until the incipient southern nationalism of the fifties gave it a temporary regional vogue.

But to judge American colleges hopeless failures on the basis of the evidence thus far presented would be unfair. Within the limits of the accepted curriculum much solid work was done, and the objectives of higher education, that is of the Yale Report, were probably approximated as well as are contemporary objectives by the students of today. Even Henry Adams took the edge off his criticism by adding the left-handed compliment that Harvard "was probably less hurtful than any other university then in existence."<sup>15</sup> A truer picture emerges when the diaries and memoirs of students who were not Adamsons are projected against the official pronouncements of presidential addresses and college catalogues. From the mass of contemporary evidence two such diaries will be sampled here by way of illustration. William Gardiner Hammond kept a rather full record of his student days at Amherst from 1846 to 1848, and Giles G. Patterson gave a somewhat less detailed account of life at South Carolina College, his alma mater, for the same two years.<sup>16</sup> Expecting wide differences between college life in South Carolina and Massachusetts the reader finds himself impressed, instead, with the similarity of the experiences of the two boys. Each of the two colleges had about 150 students at the time and a faculty of eight or ten. South Carolina paid the better salaries: up to \$2500 for a top-notch professor. Amherst, on the other hand, with more competition and no support from wealthy cotton planters, was almost on the rocks, being saved for the time when President Hitchcock and the faculty agreed to serve without salary and to share the "profits."

In pursuing their studies both boys struggled manfully through prodigious quantities of Latin, Greek, and mathematics, sitting late over their texts and trusting that somehow a disciplined mind and a strengthened character would come of it all. When occasionally unprepared, in the fashion of students from the beginning of time, they "got along by judicious guessing." More spontaneous interest was roused by fringe subjects and extracurricular activities. Thus Hammond was active in debating and literary societies which, both at Amherst and South Carolina, as well as on most other campuses, gave more opportunity to student initiative than any other part of the

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> William Gardiner Hammond, *Remembrance of Amherst*, ed. by George F. Whicher (New York, 1946); Giles G. Patterson, *Journal of a Southern Student 1846-1848*, ed. by Richmond C. Beatty (Nashville, Tenn., 1944).

scholastic program. Here they argued such questions as: Does a monarchical or a republican government favor literature most; or: Does the progress of civilization diminish the passion for military glory. Patterson grew enthusiastic about his course in the history of political institutions, and well he might, for the lecturer was Francis Lieber.

Both read books beyond the call of duty. A vacation reading program for Hammond included Pascal, Bossuet, Keats, Cooper, Molière, as well as some current best-sellers: *Lays of Ancient Rome* and *Heroes and Hero-worship*. Patterson commented at length on de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, and long after his college days he continued on familiar terms with Plutarch, Milton, Gibbon, and Bancroft. The New Englander as well as the South Carolinian slept through mandatory Sunday sermons and rebelled conventionally—"A day of fasting and prayer for colleges: I neither fasted nor prayed"—yet each displayed a genuine if critical interest in religion. They engaged in endless bull sessions on personal philosophies, careers, and girls. There was a little girl at Mt. Holyoke Seminary, a pleasant buggy-ride away, who shared Hammond's adoration for Longfellow as well as his terror of Miss Lyon and her "assistant dragonesses." Patterson, an up-country farm boy, felt out of place among the polished snobs from Charleston who set the social tone for his class, and expressed disdain for their shallow interests. Horse racing was to him a display of human folly, and his social life remained austere. But he did enjoy the claret, ice cream, strawberries, and cake at the president's reception for the seniors in honor of a visit by Daniel Webster, even though forced to admit that Webster's impromptu speech on the occasion "said nothing."

Thus, on campuses from Maine to Texas, several thousand American boys and far fewer girls were leading a pleasant, if somewhat restricted, academic life. Four years of such plain living and moderately high thinking were crowned with the A.B. degree, the stamp of the scholar. Commencement, the public acknowledgment of this achievement, was almost as much a community festival as an academic rite, and assumed at times the aspect of a carnival or a county fair. Later in the century public participation fell off and the noisy and bibulous part of the celebration was taken care of by nostalgic alumni. The time was usually midsummer. On a hot morning in late July the exercises would get under way, with a procession made up of the student body, the faculty, the governor and members of the legislature (if the college rated this honor), the clergy and visiting dignitaries, and citizens of the town. Led by the trustees, or the band, or even the college

janitor,<sup>17</sup> the assemblage moved to the largest church and settled down to be edified, as the humidity mounted, by the gentlemen of the graduating class. Sandwiched in between the salutatorian, who spoke in Latin, and the valedictorian, who was either the outstanding scholar or the big man on campus, every candidate for a degree delivered an oration, or read a poem, or took part in a disputation. The Rutgers commencement that was led by the janitor had thirteen such addresses; at Charles Eliot's graduation from Harvard on July 20, 1853, there were forty-four, with five musical interludes. "*Labor omnia vincit*," "Intellectual Pride," "The Sabbath necessary to National Prosperity," were some of the themes. Eliot himself spoke on "The Last Hours of Copernicus."<sup>18</sup>

The vigor of the American college in its heyday derived from its clear purpose and simple philosophy and the acceptance of both by its constituency. So long as everybody agreed that higher education meant character-building and that this was best achieved by adherence to a restricted intellectual program handed down from antiquity and applicable only to the fortunate few who had the stamina to take it and the means to pay for it, the college flourished and was all-sufficient. But when, after the middle of the century, both the organization of American economic life and the intellectual presuppositions of the Western world were fundamentally altered, the college too was shaken out of its complacency and forced to reconsider its premises. The original jolt for this reorientation was supplied by Charles Darwin, whose *Origin of Species* came to challenge the nation's educators early in the Civil War decade.

## II

The impact of Darwin was not made in a vacuum. Darwinism and the evolutionary philosophy to which it gave rise were part of a complex of forces that were to make over the pattern of higher education, expanding its scope and redirecting its aims, until by the end of the nineteenth century it was no longer the single liberal arts college but the many-sided university that dominated the scene. Of this larger social complex, two aspects at least must be noted here.

With the rapid growth of population and wealth the demands of the merchant, the farmer, the mechanic, for a "practical" education, to which Francis Wayland and Philip Lindsley had prematurely tried to cater, were

<sup>17</sup> *Commencement of Rutgers College*, July 18, 1838 (Broadside).

<sup>18</sup> Henry James, I, 50.

no longer to be denied. This meant more students and professors, more courses, more buildings. There began now in earnest that expansion of the physical plant, made possible by profits in steel, oil, or soap, or by appropriations of state legislatures, which has continued to our day. Modest college yards grew into campuses of hundreds of acres, where a bewildering agglomeration of Romanesque arches, Tudor battlements, and Georgian façades completely overshadowed the chaste simplicity of the original college hall, along with the simple philosophy that had flourished there. Physical expansion was paralleled by a growing secularization of the governing boards, in whose makeup clerical domination was slowly giving way to business control.<sup>19</sup>

Most characteristic of this mushroom growth were the great state universities of the Mississippi Valley where aspiring public opinion was beginning to insist that the higher reaches of education be opened to Tom, Dick, and Harry. The nucleus of the state university might be an old classical seminary, as in Indiana, or an agricultural and vocational school, as in Illinois, or even a blueprint for a quixotic "catholepistemiad," as in Michigan; whatever its origin, thousands of earnest young men and women were soon crowding its gates to take advantage of an opportunity the like of which the world had not seen. Launched on a tide of democratic idealism, the western state university soon entrenched itself in the loyalties of its constituents and even won grudging admiration in the East. Writing about it in the *Atlantic* at a time when fraternity politics was still in its infancy and football scholarships were unheard of, an eastern critic commended the new type of institution for its intellectual and moral vigor. Its campus life, he felt, was sound. "Hazing and vandalism are seldom seen in the West. There is little dissipation. The student . . . strives to put away childish things and does not forget that his chief business is to prepare himself for the performance of social duty."<sup>20</sup> That was in 1891.

Outward growth was matched by an inner development of even greater significance. Widening mental horizons and deepening scholarship expressed themselves in a broader curriculum, in the establishment of graduate schools and increasing attention to research. The opening gun in this campaign was fired by President Eliot. In the very first sentences of his inaugural address at Harvard, in 1869, he demolished the traditional curriculum and acknowledged the claims of every field of knowledge in which the human mind could have a legitimate interest: "We would have them all, and at their

<sup>19</sup> Hubert P. Beck, *Men Who Control Our Universities* (New York, 1947), p. 178.

<sup>20</sup> George E. Howard, "The State University in America," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXVII, 332 ff.

best." The goal of his administration would be to "broaden and deepen and invigorate" all branches of learning.<sup>21</sup> Six years later Daniel C. Gilman, whom Yale had passed over in favor of the conservative Noah Porter, announced as a chief aim of newly founded Johns Hopkins the assembling of a body of mature students, free to choose any subject of study under the direction of highly trained specialists whose teaching was constantly reinforced by active research.<sup>22</sup> Eliot and Gilman set off a chain reaction which altered, within the next quarter-century, the structure of higher education in the United States, and whose first phase was completed with the founding, in the nineties, of Stanford and of the University of Chicago.

Foremost among the intellectual movements that helped bring about these changes, the leaven that loosened the hard core of conservative resistance, was the theory of evolution. Cautiously advanced in a limited field by Darwin, expanded to a universal philosophy by Spencer, and carried directly to the lecture-loving American public by persuasive popularizers, its influence was soon all-pervasive, inescapable. American scholars going to Germany to complete their professional training absorbed it there in the lectures of Haeckel and his disciples.<sup>23</sup> Evolution gave a tremendous impetus to scientific study and eventually raised the scientists to the position of pre-eminence in the intellectual hierarchy once held by the classicists. But it offered a fresh point of view to other subjects as well and called for a reappraisal of accepted values all through the curriculum. It made possible the organic approach to history and literature and revolutionized teaching in those fields, and it speeded the emergence of the social sciences as a separate division of teaching and research. All this was not accomplished without a struggle. The orthodox, both in education and theology, offered dogged resistance. The length of the battle and its details varied from campus to campus, but its outcome was nearly everywhere the same: the champions of the old order lost the day. Some went down fighting, some retired to the ivory tower. Many compromised, perhaps on the principle: if you can't lick 'em, join 'em.

The colleges did not reorient themselves overnight, though it looked that way in retrospect to some of the proponents of evolution. Thus Charles Francis Adams, speaking for historians, said in 1900: "We of the new school [of history] regard as the dividing line between us and the historians of the old school the first day of October, 1859,—the date of the publication of Darwin's

<sup>21</sup> The inaugural address is in Eliot's *Educational Reform* (New York, 1898).

<sup>22</sup> Daniel C. Gilman, *University Problems in the United States* (New York, 1898), pp. 18 f.

<sup>23</sup> The influence of German universities on American scholarship, important as it is, cannot be treated in this paper. Merle Curti estimates that about ten thousand students from the United States visited German universities between 1815 and 1914. *The Growth of American Thought* (New York, 1943), p. 582.

'Origin of Species' . . ." <sup>24</sup> In reality the general acceptance of the organic or evolutionary thesis was itself something of an evolutionary process, since the new views replaced the older orthodoxies not so much by direct frontal assault as by gradual infiltration. After all, the idea was not entirely strange. Geology had been flourishing for a generation and new vistas of the earth's age, accepted by Agassiz of Harvard, Dana of Yale, Hitchcock of Amherst, and others, had already blurred the focus of Biblical literalism. Thomas Cooper of South Carolina College had adventured in the same field even earlier, and before him a president of Princeton had enlivened his moral philosophy lectures with a Lamarckian account of a Negro who, under the pressure of environment, had slowly turned white. <sup>25</sup>

The Darwinian hypothesis, then, did not come as a major shock to college scientists: they absorbed it, or reshaped it to fit their religious and philosophical views. Asa Gray of Lawrence Scientific School is a case in point. His urbane and well-informed review articles of the *Origin of Species* <sup>26</sup> went far toward making Darwinism palatable to his colleagues. Gray's general conclusion was that Darwin had proposed a tenable hypothesis which was "not harmful to religion, unless injudicious assailants temporarily make it so." So long as the argument for design was left intact—and Gray thought it was—it seemed rather silly to "hold the original distinctness of turnips and cabbages as an article of faith." <sup>27</sup>

This remained his position, and he expressed it many times. An incorruptible theist, Gray saw in the evolutionary struggle the assurance of ultimate higher and nobler forms. <sup>28</sup> A similar position was taken by Joseph LeConte, eminent biologist of the University of California, who lectured on evolution with the admitted purpose of reconciling science and religion. LeConte saw an immanent divinity in the Darwinian data and the ideal Christian man at the end of the evolutionary trail. <sup>29</sup>

It was arguments such as these that created a sympathetic atmosphere for the new theories and gradually undermined the opposition. Chief among the popularizers, because he reached a wider audience than either Gray or

<sup>24</sup> "The Sifted Grain and the Grain Sifters," address at the dedication of the State Historical Society building of Wisconsin, Oct. 19, 1900, in *American Historical Review*, VI (January, 1901).

<sup>25</sup> Thomas Cooper, *On the Connection between Geology and the Pentateuch*, a letter to Benjamin Silliman at Yale (Boston, 1833); Samuel Stanhope Smith, *The Lectures . . . on . . . Moral and Political Philosophy* (Trenton, 1812), I, 46.

<sup>26</sup> *Atlantic Monthly*, VI (July, August, October, 1860), 109 ff. This was, so far as I know, the first serious critique of Darwin in America.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> *Darwiniana* (New York, 1876), p. 378.

<sup>29</sup> Joseph LeConte, *Evolution* (New York, 1922), p. 276 and *passim*. The first edition appeared in 1887.



LeConte, was the historian John Fiske. A brilliant undergraduate at Harvard, Fiske had been suspect to the authorities there ever since he was caught reading Comte in chapel, and he never secured a permanent appointment at his alma mater. The fluent style of his essays and his captivating platform manner facilitated the acceptance of the Spencerian philosophy which he introduced to the American public. Not a scientist himself, Fiske insisted, in opposition to Haeckel, on the need of a personal God in the evolutionary process, but on philosophical grounds; he equated evolution with progress; and he made it a basis for racial theories that flattered his readers.<sup>30</sup> While the *Atlantic Monthly* and the *North American Review* carried much of the controversial literature, the principal outlet for the exponents of the gospel of progress through evolution was the *Popular Science Monthly*, begun in 1872 by Edward Youmans, an enthusiastic disciple of Spencer and Huxley. Two years after its founding this magazine reported a sale of 12,000 copies a month, "an excellent circulation for the times."<sup>31</sup> Support of a different kind came from Chauncey Wright, mathematician, philosopher, and occasional lecturer at Harvard. Wright was not concerned to reconcile the new hypothesis with traditional religion but to demonstrate its scientific validity, and let the chips fall where they might. A regular correspondent of Darwin, a student and critic of Spencer, Wright was a "scientists' scientist" with little popular appeal. In his own words, "The strategy of science is not the same as that of rhetorical disputation, and aims at cornering facts, not antagonists."<sup>32</sup>

Meantime the opposition was not inactive. With the polemics of the clergy, which were sometimes vehement and not always well informed, this article is concerned only to the extent of pointing out that clerical leaders like Horace Bushnell and Charles Hodge feared for the foundations of morality and faith and were loath to follow Beecher in his sentimental espousal of the progress version of the theory.<sup>33</sup> But the clerical conservatives felt they had found a champion among the scientists themselves: Louis Agassiz, eminent Swiss biologist and colleague of Asa Gray. On examination Agassiz proves to have been not quite the shining champion of orthodoxy that his theological admirers made him out. He had accepted the idea of development as such, geologic aeons were no stumbling block to him, he merely entered a

<sup>30</sup> John Fiske, *A Century of Science* (Boston, 1899), *passim*; "The Progress from Brute to Man," *North American Review*, CXVII (October, 1873).

<sup>31</sup> Frank L. Mott, *History of American Magazines* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), III, 497.

<sup>32</sup> Quotation from Wright's review article on Darwin and Wallace in *North American Review*, CXIII (July, 1871), 63. See also James B. Turner, ed., *Letters of Chauncey Wright* (Cambridge, 1878).

<sup>33</sup> Hodge's *What Is Darwinism* (New York, 1874), was one of the more influential polemics.

caveat against the uncritical acceptance of all phases of the Darwinian thesis. The emergence, by natural selection, of varieties within a species he could accept, but the species themselves, he insisted, were successive creations by the mind of God. Thus, while scrupulously attentive to the evidence, he salvaged the teleological principle.<sup>34</sup> For a time the controversy between Agassiz and Gray made Lawrence Scientific School a lively place, but it never became a knock-down-drag-out fight; after the death of Agassiz it faded out, and as the growing fossil collections and expanding "philosophical cabinets" on a hundred campuses piled up the evidence the scientists capitulated and the new theory took over.

It was not, however, the professors so much as the college presidents who had to make the momentous decision and then explain the change of course to their constituents. Interpreters of the college to the community, they felt it their duty to reassure a bewildered public that whatever novelties might be dispensed in classroom and laboratory the seats of learning were safe against moral sabotage. By and large the presidents were men of integrity and superior ability, concerned to advance and disseminate the truth. But it was the truth as it had been committed to them by their classical, metaphysical, and theological training; should they now throw their lifetime convictions overboard in favor of a novel theory, the scientific evidence for which few of them had actually examined? Then there were the trustees and the alumni to consider, and in both groups the conservative clerical element was strong. Above all, in the highly competitive business of higher education, no college could afford too much unfavorable publicity, and that in itself made it difficult to decide the explosive question of evolution on its merits alone. This equivocal position in which the presidents found themselves explains the half-challenging, half-reassuring note that echoes through their voluminous inaugural addresses, baccalaureate sermons, and annual reports. We must keep abreast of the times, so they agreed, we must move forward, for this is an age of science and progress. Yet, on the other hand, science may not presume to dictate but must approach sacred things with reverence; eternal verities cannot be challenged and ethical foundations must stand secure. So you can send us your boys, this grand old college will keep the faith.<sup>35</sup>

On a wider stage, similar perplexities confronted the great leaders of

<sup>34</sup> Elizabeth Carey Agassiz, *Louis Agassiz, His Life and Correspondence* (Boston, 1886), I, 372, 388; II, 510, 777.

<sup>35</sup> Among the presidents on whose pronouncements the above generalization is based were Noah Porter of Yale, F. A. P. Barnard of Columbia, James McCosh of Princeton, William H. Campbell and Merrill E. Gates of Rutgers, W. A. Stearns and Julius Seelye of Amherst, William G. Ballantine of Oberlin, and others.

the university movement, whose rise is interrelated, both temporally and causally, with the appearance of the evolutionary philosophy. They were, in the seventies, Charles W. Eliot, Daniel Coit Gilman, Andrew Dickson White; and two decades later David Starr Jordan and William Rainey Harper.<sup>36</sup> In contrast to the cautious straddling of many presidents of smaller colleges, these men welcomed scientific advance as in keeping with the new educational direction and stood their ground in the face of criticism. Significantly, none of them was a theologian, but secular by profession and predilection. Harper carried a theological degree, perhaps for protective coloring; his real interest was philology. Most of them had also studied in Europe.<sup>37</sup> In contrast to the conventional theologian-educator, the adventurous minds of this group welcomed the challenge of the age.<sup>38</sup> To begin with, they were critical of their own narrow undergraduate training. White dismissed his four years at Hobart and Yale as fruitless "gerund-grinding," and Eliot was of the opinion that "the vulgar argument that the study of the classics is necessary to make a gentleman is beneath contempt."<sup>39</sup> Harper deplored the inadequate textbook-recitation type of instruction, and the almost nonexistent library and laboratory facilities at Yale. Even Barnard, one-time champion of the Yale Report, had come to regard the language requirement as more of a sedative than a stimulus, a fetish whose utility ended when the degree candidate had laboriously construed the Latin on his diploma.<sup>40</sup>

If the classics were no longer sacred, what chance had the Mosaic cosmogony? In the opinion of these iconoclastic educators any light that Darwin or Spencer, Huxley or Haeckel could shed on the origins of life and of human society was to be welcomed, even if critically analyzed, in the institutions of higher learning. In Spencer's pages, especially, they found the most radical turn of human thought since Descartes, destined not only to

<sup>36</sup> This list is not arranged in any implied order of greatness, nor are any invidious comparisons intended. Nearly every university can point to one president who, more than any other single individual, was responsible for its growth and present status. Among those that come to mind are Barnard of Columbia, Hadley of Yale, Pepper of Pennsylvania, McCosh of Princeton, Angell of Michigan, Kirkland of Vanderbilt. In my opinion Eliot was pre-eminent as administrator and organizer, while Gilman was outstanding for his scholarship and philosophical breadth; but the late President Butler of Columbia once assured me that Barnard was the greatest of all.

<sup>37</sup> Harper and Jordan had not.

<sup>38</sup> Their hospitality to innovation did not extend to the economic field. Here they accepted, by and large, the prevailing laissez-faire views of the business community, which were, of course, in keeping with Spencer's philosophy. White, for example, was himself a businessman; Harper saw "incalculable injury" to democracy in what seemed to him the socializing trend of the day. Harper, *The Trend in Higher Education* (Chicago, 1905), p. 30.

<sup>39</sup> *Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White* (New York, 1905), I, 27; Henry James, *Charles W. Eliot*, I, 196.

<sup>40</sup> Harper, pp. 119 f.; Barnard, "The Studies Proper To Be Pursued Preparatory to Admission to College," *Proceedings of the Third Anniversary of the University Convocation of the State of New York* (Albany, 1866).

alter the approach and content of every subject in the university curriculum but to open for investigation and instruction new fields hitherto unknown. Such a situation was made to order for Eliot with his genius for planning and organizing, or for Jordan, an educational theorist as well as a biologist of the first magnitude; it was also in the back of Gilman's mind when he announced that the professors he was seeking for Johns Hopkins would be asked not the name of their college, their state, or their church, but "what do they know, what can they do, what do they want to find out."<sup>41</sup>

Yet the great university presidents as a class were not complete positivists. Hospitable to innovation in matters academic, they did not burn all their bridges behind them but maintained a liaison with the absolutes of their inheritance. Eliot might ram the appointment of Fiske down the overseers' throats without yielding his personal faith in a "transcendent intelligence" which holds the universe together, and he loved to sing the old hymns.<sup>42</sup> In the early days of Cornell, White had to battle the heresy-hunters who, he believed, were mostly older theologians who had learned nothing and forgotten nothing and professors who did not want to rewrite their lectures. But he indignantly denied the charge that his institution was a hotbed of infidelity and atheism and more than once expressed his personal belief in "a Power in the universe, not ourselves, which makes for righteousness."<sup>43</sup> Jordan came closest, perhaps, to the positivist stand: William James would have classified him among the "tough-minded." An ichthyologist of note, he knew that biologic natural selection did not prove the inevitable progress of human society. "As science advances in any field, philosophy is driven out of it." Yet even Jordan, at the end of his lectures on evolution, postulated an Infinite Being as a logical necessity.<sup>44</sup>

Barnard of Columbia, one-time president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, never quite overcame his misgivings. His inaugural address in 1864, "The Relation of Physical Science to Revealed Religion," was so happily phrased that both the scientists and the preachers claimed him for their side; but his first report to the trustees a year later made much of the fact that in his lectures to the seniors he had defended religion against "the recent very plausible and insidious theory of Darwin." In a still more conservative vein he remarked, in 1873: "If the final outcome of all the boasted discoveries of modern science is to disclose to men that

<sup>41</sup> Gilman, inaugural address, 1876, in *University Problems in the United States* (New York, 1898).

<sup>42</sup> James, I, 318.

<sup>43</sup> *Autobiography*, I, 342; *A History of the Warfare of Science and Theology* (New York, 1896), Introduction, I, 318.

<sup>44</sup> Jordan, *Foot-notes to Evolution* (New York, 1898), p. 341.

they are more evanescent than the shadow of the swallow's wing upon the lake . . . give me then, I pray, no more science. I will live on in my simple ignorance as my fathers did before me . . ." <sup>45</sup> Barnard's lingering nostalgia did not keep Columbia in the paths of orthodoxy.

At Michigan, earliest of the western state universities, President Angell was carrying on a well-planned campaign for popular support. In view of this and perhaps too because of several stormy episodes in Michigan's early history, he had to tread softly in introducing the new science to a largely conservative constituency. Urgent requests for the enlargement of facilities for the sciences are balanced, in Angell's annual reports, with reassurances that the university is not forsaking the old paths. Christianity, he pointed out, was not only tolerated but honored at Michigan, even though there was no compulsory chapel or religious instruction. Of the teaching and administrative staff of eighty, three fourths were communicant members of local churches, and every Sunday school in Ann Arbor but one had a professor as superintendent. <sup>46</sup>

Most successful in absorbing and adapting the evolutionary thesis without yielding much in return was President James McCosh of Princeton. A Scottish scholar and theologian, McCosh was brought over in 1868, as Witherspoon had been a century before him, to give Princeton a shot in the arm. Though widely acquainted with university developments and leaders in Europe, he remained in some ways the paternal college president of an earlier day, the personal disciplinarian of individual boys. As such he soon sensed that a stand in opposition to evolution at this time might undermine the faculty's influence with the students and prove disastrous for the cause of religion. Unlike some of the clergy McCosh tried sincerely to understand Darwin and to reconcile natural selection with a sound theism. His adjustment was the familiar one: "I have been defending Evolution but, in doing so, have given the proper account of it as the method of God's procedure. . . ." And again: "We are not to be precluded from seeking and discovering a final cause, because we have found an efficient cause." <sup>47</sup> Harking back, in his farewell address, <sup>48</sup> to the things that had given him the greatest satisfaction during his twenty years in office, he made special mention

<sup>45</sup> John Fulton, *Memoirs of Frederick A. P. Barnard* (New York, 1896), pp. 346, 361; *Annual Report of the President of Columbia College* (New York, 1865), p. 6; Sidney Ratner, "Evolution and the Rise of the Scientific Spirit in America," *Philosophy of Science*, III (January, 1936); see also Barnard's *Address Delivered before the A.A.A.S.* (Salem, Mass., 1869).

<sup>46</sup> *The President's Report for 1881*.

<sup>47</sup> William M. Sloane, *The Life of James McCosh* (New York, 1897), p. 234; McCosh, *Christianity and Positivism* (New York, 1875), p. 8.

<sup>48</sup> *Twenty Years at Princeton College*, 1888.

of the conversion of tough students like the "open-mouthed infidel, perpetually quoting Huxley and Spencer" who ended up lecturing for the Y.M.C.A. In academic matters otherwise McCosh was rather conservative. Thus when he measured himself with Eliot in a debate on the elective system, in 1885, he ridiculed the "mental monstrosities" currently turned out at Harvard who, instead of taking solid intellectual food, dabbled in French novels, English drama, and watercolors. Yet, like the eighteenth-century British statesmen who built an empire in a prolonged fit of absence of mind, McCosh found at the close of his regime that he had created a university.<sup>49</sup>

### III

And so the transition was made. The universities, or those colleges that were to become universities, led the way and the others followed, at varying speeds and with varying degrees of friction. All things considered, it was a smooth transition. Heresy trials were few. Andrew Dickson White, in his *Warfare of Science and Theology*,<sup>50</sup> cites the more celebrated ones. Church-controlled institutions, naturally enough, were most sensitive to changing winds of doctrine. Thus when Alexander Winchell, geologist, was expelled from Vanderbilt in 1878, the Tennessee Methodist Conference exulted: "... our university alone has had the courage to lay its young but vigorous hands upon the mane of untamed speculation and say, 'We will have no more of this' ..."<sup>51</sup> But Winchell soon found another position, this time at Michigan. A few theological seminaries ousted professors who had expounded the higher criticism; Roman Catholic and, to a lesser degree, Lutheran and Baptist authorities saw to it that science in their institutions was taught within the church's doctrinal frame of reference. But these were the exceptions; the tide was running the other way. College presidents, whatever their personal views, rarely threw any serious obstacles in the path of any of their faculty who wished to develop the Darwinian thesis or the Spencerian social philosophy. Gray and Agassiz worked peacefully side by side at Harvard and Dana was unmolested at Yale. Noah Porter, though grieved to see Sumner introduce Spencer's *Study of Sociology* as a text, did nothing effective to stop him. At Amherst President Julius Seelye, a religious conservative but a tolerant man, permitted Professor Emerson to teach geology in a thoroughly naturalistic manner. "The old fellow lets us alone," Emerson admitted gratefully.<sup>52</sup> What happened at Amherst happened elsewhere. The official phi-

<sup>49</sup> Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *Princeton 1746-1896* (Princeton, 1946), pp. 303, 306.

<sup>50</sup> I, chap. 10.

<sup>51</sup> Ratner, *op. cit.*

<sup>52</sup> Claude M. Fuess, *Amherst* (Boston, 1935), p. 218.



losophy of the college remained theistic and the general public was reassured that the professors were in Sunday school. But inside their laboratories the scientists held sway. If they were competent and produced results, "the old man left them alone."

One way of testing the extent of the ensuing change is by an examination of college catalogues. When the subject listings and course requirements in the bulletins and announcements of the seventies are compared with the same data a quarter of a century later the degree of change, at least in externals, can be seen and appreciated.<sup>53</sup> These official college records demonstrate graphically the successful attempt of the scientists to gain status. For one thing the evolution-slanted texts of Gray, Dana, and LeConte were widely used by the latter decade, even in conservative denominational institutions. Course offerings were broadening and the nomenclature was changing. Everywhere the accumulation of data and growing specialization were leading to the establishment of new chairs of teaching and research, while the old academic "settee"<sup>54</sup> of pre-Darwinian days was on its way to the pedagogical junk pile. The omnibus designations of natural philosophy, natural history, moral philosophy, had about disappeared by 1890, to be replaced by new departmental categories: zoology, physics, psychology, sociology, each of these again subdividing according to the size and complexity of the institution. Thus higher education was itself illustrating Spencer's famous definition of evolution: amid considerable dissipation of motion the curriculum was passing from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite, coherent, heterogeneity.

With the multiplication of departments and course offerings came a steady increase in the number of electives, ranging from the complete freedom of Harvard to the few alternatives reluctantly conceded by the remaining classical strongholds. A transitional structure, maintained by many colleges, was that of two or three separate schools or divisions—the classical, the scientific, and the literary—sometimes with three corresponding degrees—the A.B., the B.S., and the Ph.B. or Litt.B. The first of these three was the old college, the other two were frills, concessions to philistinism. But Greek and Latin were moribund and the future lay with the philistines. Grudgingly, incredulously, the votaries of the classics saw their claims to mental discipline and precision of thought appropriated by the cocky scientists, while the

<sup>53</sup> The summarization that follows is based on such an examination of the course announcements of 68 institutions, including the leading universities of the East, state universities of the West and South, and colleges in all sections. In nearly every case a sample or two from the sixties or seventies was compared with one or more catalogues from the late eighties or the nineties.

<sup>54</sup> I believe Robert Kelly, in *The Effective College*, first used this expression.

mantle of the genteel tradition was coming to rest on the shoulders of the emerging departments of English literature. *Sic transit*.

For a time, the literature people wore their new honors with considerable self-consciousness—to raise *Beowulf* to the stature of the *Iliad* and to supplant Aristophanes with Restoration drama took some doing—but no such false humility plagued the scientists. Darwin had furnished them with a rationale and in their new laboratories they were working out dependable techniques. These laboratories were now forthcoming, for a large part of the wealth that American businessmen and legislatures were beginning to lavish on universities was channeled into the science departments. From Columbia to Stanford, from Dartmouth to Tulane, the sciences were now being supported in a style to which they had not been accustomed. The dingy “philosophical cabinets,” the routine demonstrations by the professor of natural history, had vanished into the paleozoic past, and in modern surroundings the undergraduates “got glimpses of the passion and the confidence of science in a day when it seemed that all wisdom as well as all knowledge was to be its province.”<sup>55</sup> Not that the advance was at all even. Illustrating once again that to him that hath shall be given, Harvard, Columbia, Chicago, and a few others were adding building to building with seemingly little strain, so that Harper, for example, could loftily protest: “I don’t ask for money, I offer opportunities.”<sup>56</sup> At Michigan, on the other hand, things had not come so easily. There President Angell had had to remind the legislature again and again that if they failed to provide adequately for scientific expansion they would “peril our honorable position among the better institutions of the land.”<sup>57</sup>

At a respectful distance behind the leaders followed the hundreds of smaller colleges. The pace and nature of the changes here were almost as varied as their number, for every institution had its own story. All that will be attempted in this paper is a little sampling, a few random glimpses of “life among the lowly.” As far back as 1865 Allegheny College had boasted some electrical equipment, a stock of chemicals “the greater part of which has been imported from Paris and Berlin,” and an eleven-thousand-piece fossil collection which was on the way; twenty-seven years later the college catalogue mentioned the same items, plus a few new ones: a phonograph and a double stereopticon.<sup>58</sup> President Hyde of Bowdoin complained in 1892

<sup>55</sup> Henry S. Canby, *Alma Mater* (New York, 1936), p. 188.

<sup>56</sup> Biographical sketch in *Dictionary of American Biography*.

<sup>57</sup> *The President's Report*, 1872, p. 16. See also the reports for 1874, 1890.

<sup>58</sup> *Catalogue of Allegheny College* for 1865–66, and for 1892–93.

that the chemical laboratory, once a source of pride as one of the oldest in the country, was sadly out of date; that it was high time to begin to teach physics by the laboratory method; and that if something drastic was not done soon the Brunswick high school would have better equipment than Bowdoin College.<sup>59</sup> The complaint bore fruit: Bowdoin got a science building the next year. Stirrings in the war-impooverished South are reflected in a report of President Crowell of Trinity (Duke) in 1888. In it Crowell urged that even a Christian classical college must make room for the new sciences that have made "the road to graduation quite different from that of fifty years ago, or even thirty years ago." He would reorganize the college by establishing subject-matter departments, and he appealed to the faculty to serve the larger public by lectures, writing, and research, to give intellectual guidance to the community, and to take the lead in movements of social reform. Unfortunately the professors who were to initiate the new program had been forced to share the annual deficit and, though entitled to salaries of \$1000, had actually been living, during the past decade, on incomes that moved between \$231 and \$550 a year.<sup>60</sup>

But the ferment spread beyond the physical and biological branches. Nowhere was the proliferation of subject matter and the trend toward specialization more in evidence than in what came to be called the social sciences. Though the term, which in itself marks the beginning of a return to integration, did not obtain currency until well into the twentieth century, the area of teaching and research that it was to include had been staked out, and its subdivisions defined, by the end of the nineteenth. History, no longer a matter of chronology or an aspect of literature, was receiving a new, two-fold orientation: The *Quellenstudium* of the German scholar and the organic approach of Herbert Spencer.<sup>61</sup> Here too the advance was uneven. Many a college continued to boast of men like Arthur Wheeler, professor of European history at Yale, who drew overflow audiences to his annual hero-worshipping lecture on the battle of Waterloo until 1911.<sup>62</sup> But Wheeler and his kind were about to give way to a new breed of historians that was being developed in a series of lively seminars conducted by various scholars named Adams.<sup>63</sup> As the products of these seminars began to find their way into the college teaching posts the emphasis in history shifted from the

<sup>59</sup> *Report of the President of Bowdoin College for 1891-1892.*

<sup>60</sup> *Report of the President of Trinity College for 1887-1888.*

<sup>61</sup> W. Stull Holt, "The Idea of Scientific History in America," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, I (June, 1940).

<sup>62</sup> Pierson, *Yale College*, p. 279; Corwin, *Workaday Doings of Modest Folk*, p. 91.

<sup>63</sup> Henry at Harvard, Herbert Baxter at Johns Hopkins, Charles Kendall at Michigan.

narrative of events to the search for causes and the organic development of institutions, and the soaring passages of the dramatic lecturer were anchored down by footnotes. Government, long a by-product of history, was establishing itself in its own right; and political economy, itself an offshoot of the old moral philosophy course, was tightening its structure, sharpening its focus, and becoming economics. Last of the group to gain academic respectability was sociology, still a little starry-eyed and inclined to claim the world for its oyster. When Lester Ward, founder of the discipline in America, was appointed to the newly created chair of sociology at Brown, in 1906, he offered as his principal course "A Survey of All Knowledge."<sup>64</sup>

With the dawn of the twentieth century the era of the college drew to a close. The independent, single-minded college with its simple formula for turning out scholars and gentlemen was not designed for survival in an age of intellectual complexities and conflicting philosophies. Mastery, or even a survey, of all knowledge, an eighteenth-century ideal, seemed by the end of the nineteenth palpably absurd. Thirty years earlier it had still been possible for John Bascom, later president of the University of Wisconsin, to write four textbooks within a decade, dealing respectively with political economy, aesthetics, rhetoric, and psychology. Few scholars, and certainly no college presidents, would henceforth have the temerity, even if they had the time, to cover so much ground. Nor was it likely any longer, even in the smallest of colleges, that a young instructor would be asked, as was David Starr Jordan in his first position at Lombard University, to teach science, political economy, evidences of Christianity, German and Spanish, and to pitch for the baseball team.<sup>65</sup>

The kind of competition that the old-time college would have to meet from now on can be seen by a glance at the University of Chicago, as it sprang full-panoplied from the brain of Harper and the purse of Rockefeller. This was not the story of an old classical institution suffering growing pains and reluctantly, unsymmetrically, adding a school here and an activity there. Chicago was launched as a university, more nearly complete than any other American university so early in its career. There was the junior college and the senior college, with an assortment of courses that few institutions could equal, and a faculty to teach every one. The professional schools were there too: law, medicine, divinity, also fine arts and music, together with a graduate school of science and one of the arts. A library, a museum, univer-

<sup>64</sup> Samuel Chugerman, *Lester Ward, the American Aristotle* (Durham, N. C., 1939), pp. 36, 192; Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Philadelphia, 1944), p. 54.

<sup>65</sup> See the biographical sketches of Bascom and Jordan in *Dictionary of American Biography*.

sity extension, and a university press completed the picture, and there were buildings and endowment to match it all.<sup>66</sup>

In the face of such magnificence few colleges could afford to plod along unchanged. There were other disintegrating factors. The growing heterogeneity of college life was apparent not only in the classroom, where an uneasy questioning of traditional values was emanating from newly established psychology laboratories and sociology seminars, but now came to include increasing numbers of extracurricular activities, the sideshows of which Woodrow Wilson was to complain. As the inner philosophical unity of the college dissolved, the pressures and divergent interests of American life beyond the campus walls crowded in to fill the vacuum.<sup>67</sup> Bewilderingly manifold were the "activities" that college men—and women—now felt necessary to a rounded existence. To become a big man on campus one made the newspaper staff or managed the glee club, which was about to emerge from the mandolin-strumming stage. Fraternity politics had never been so important. Dating back to 1825, when Kappa Alpha was founded at Union as the first of the "Union triad," the fraternities had gradually relinquished their earlier preoccupation with scholarship and literature to assume their now familiar campus role. Athletics had not yet become big business, complete with million dollar stadiums and grand jury investigations, but it was on its way. Football was in the iron age and Yale, in years when it defeated both Harvard and Princeton, was the mythical national champion. A career was opening for the talents of cheerleaders, so indispensable to college spirit and so incomprehensible to foreigners. To Charles Bourget, at any rate, French novelist and critic who was spending a year in the United States gathering data for the usual book of "impressions," the performance of the cheerleaders at the Harvard-Pennsylvania game in 1893 was completely unintelligible. Football, to his uninitiated eyes, was a "fearful" game, the players like "beasts of prey," the scrimmage a "monstrous and agitated melee, a murderous knot." Weirdest of all, however, were the "propagators of enthusiasm" roaring the war cry of the university, and all in the name of higher education.<sup>68</sup>

Smothered by all this feverish activity, intellectual life was likely to be desultory and somnolent. Henry S. Canby saw his Yale classmates so tense with the many things they were doing, as they thought, for alma mater, that

<sup>66</sup> *Annual Register* for 1892-93.

<sup>67</sup> A detailed analysis of this process in one institution is found in Thomas LeDuc, *Piety and Intellect at Amherst College 1865-1912* (New York, 1946).

<sup>68</sup> Bourget's description is in Oscar Handlin, *This Was America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), pp. 371 f.

there was no place to relax except in the classroom, where "we could sit and sit while ideas about evolution or Shakespeare dropped upon us like the gentle rain from heaven, which seeped in or evaporated according to our mental temperatures."<sup>69</sup> There are those who maintain, with Van Wyck Brooks,<sup>70</sup> that somewhere in the process of expansion the college lost its soul. If it did, it was in the attempt, so characteristically American, to build more stately mansions.

*New Jersey College for Women*

<sup>69</sup> *Alma Mater*, p. 49.

<sup>70</sup> *New England: Indian Summer* (New York, 1940), p. 105.



# A Prelude to Hitler's Greater Germany

ROBERT LEWIS KOEHL

HITLER'S Greater German Reich was foreshadowed in the many plans and partially completed framework for the victorious imperial Germany which so many Germans expected to see emerge from the First World War. The empire was to be expanded. It was to be the uncontested economic and military master of Europe. On its eastern and western frontiers it was to have subsidiary or client states closely connected with it economically, politically, and militarily. Above all, it was to be oriented politically and economically toward further eastern colonization and expansion. These plans originated in the facts of military occupation of areas outside the Second Reich, and in the economic necessity of the Central Powers, cut off from the rest of the world by the Allied blockade.

On the eve of the First World War Germany had abandoned all but the semblance of Bismarck's system of security through a European balance of power, in exchange for a role in world politics which was, in fact, ill suited to preserve the peaceful world which not only her industrial and trading economy but her very geographic location and political history required. The stage was set in 1914, not only for war but for a complete reorientation of German political and economic ambitions. In spite of her navy, her colonies, and her world trade, Germany at war became once more a continental state in the heart of Europe. As an industrial state, Germany needed food and raw materials which she did not have within her borders. During the war years and afterwards, she had to find more secure and defensible sources for these necessities.

Germany needed a system of security to replace the Bismarckian one which had worked until modern capitalism overtook the Prussia-Germany of 1890. The actions of William II and his ministers up to 1914 indicated that they had not really foreseen the possibility of world war. A substitute system had to be constructed in wartime for the contingencies of a warring world.

At the outbreak of the war most Germans, like the other people of Europe, expected a short period of hostilities, conducted with limited ob-

jectives in view, followed by a more or less negotiated settlement. The Germans also believed that Germany had been attacked after a long process of encirclement: they thought that the war had been thrust upon the Reich. This was a defensive war, not a war of conquest, said the kaiser on August 4. In his reply to the kaiser, the Social Democratic party chairman, Haase, demanded a war "for security only" and a peace "just to all neighboring peoples." Certainly, there were others who welcomed the war as an opportunity for Germany to break out of "encirclement."<sup>1</sup>

During the fall of 1914 the Germans discovered that a world war did not develop exactly after the fashion of 1866 or 1870. As casualties, war regulations, and the continual drafts of men for the front impressed the Germans with the magnitude of the war, there was a shift from the talk of a "purely defensive war." Even before Christmas, 1914, Dr. Spahn, speaking in the Reichstag for all parties except the Socialist, demanded for Germany "at the conclusion of the most serious of all wars, a peace which offers the German people a security against all enemies, comparable to the sacrifices made."<sup>2</sup> The idea of defense had not disappeared; but beside it were introduced the vision of a future Reich which could not be attacked and the idea of compensation for German sacrifices already made.

After New Year's Day, 1915, the German air gradually filled with speculation and then with demands that the settlement which Germany would reach after the ultimate victory should make impossible such unpleasant eventualities as actual invasion of the fatherland. There was talk of "guarantees, *not* merely on paper." People in high positions began to realize the gravity of Germany's position, in case of prolonged hostilities, because of her reliance on foreign products. The Reichstag itself became more and more preoccupied with the problems of a war economy. To these men, at least, it was increasingly clear that Germany must play a careful economic game to survive.<sup>3</sup> It was inevitable that the economic requirements of war-time should suggest solutions involving the use of the products of territories contiguous to Germany which were being occupied in the course of military

<sup>1</sup> Ralph H. Lutz, *Fall of the German Empire: Documents of the German Revolution* (Stanford University, 1932), I, 8-9, 15-16; Salomon Grumbach, *Das annexionistische Deutschland* (Lausanne, 1917), pp. 284-85, 289, 313-15.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Ursachen des Deutschen Zusammenbruches im Jahre 1918 (Das Werk des Untersuchungsausschusses der Verfassungsgebenden Deutschen Nationalversammlung und des Deutschen Reichstages 1919-1926)* (Berlin, 1926), VIII, 55. Hereafter cited as *Ursachen*.

<sup>3</sup> Grumbach, pp. 7, 55, 69, 77-78; *Ursachen*, VIII, 57; Louis Guichard, *The Naval Blockade, 1914-1918* (New York, 1930), p. 39: Guichard interprets the German "War Zone Declaration," which opened the first submarine campaign in February, 1915, as evidence that the German leadership had determined to accept the challenge of economic warfare.

operations. When these short-term solutions merged with long-range schemes for strategical and economic security, the result was what has been called "annexationism."

Areas belonging to the enemy lent themselves easily to expansionist planning. In the east the most obvious regions of this kind were the Baltic provinces and Poland. To the historically minded, the Baltic provinces of Russia offered a sparsely populated area for settlement to which Germany had a good claim. Had not Germans staked out this claim in the thirteenth century, and were not German barons still the culture-pioneers (*Kultur-träger*), especially in Courland?

Poland was an even better prize, lying temptingly outstretched (geographically speaking) to be cut off from "Mongol" Russia and reunited with the West by German civilization. Congress Poland had been Prussian and Austrian territory for twelve years in the late eighteenth century, and German businessmen and craftsmen had found their way there, reinforcing still older German communities dating from medieval times. Poland was an economic asset, too, for not only did it have a productive agriculture but mineral deposits and industrialization promised a great future for capitalist exploitation. Unfortunately, here the Germany nationalist ran up against a stern opponent: a hardy Polish nationalism anxious to develop Poland for the Poles. In the Baltic states the local population had been subordinate nationally and economically to Germans for centuries.<sup>4</sup>

The fantasies and dreams of the future rife in Germany as her armies pushed forward in 1915 into Poland and into the Baltic states suddenly acquired a basis in fact: conquered territory. After August and September, 1915, the speeches and declarations became more specific: "We shall not surrender what we have conquered with our blood . . ." Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg on announcing the capture of Warsaw stated that he hoped Germany and Poland would embark upon a new era of peace together. Later, in April, 1916, he remarked that Europe could not go back to the *status quo ante*, that the border peoples of the Russian Empire would never return to Russian bondage. Back of these noble sentiments lay the psychological temper of the German people. Before their eyes at last were tangible fruits of victory in the occupied territories. New hopes were aroused in several sections of the populace. Those of one section saw in the occupied

<sup>4</sup>Max Sering and Carl von Dietz, *Agrarverfassung der deutschen Auslandssiedlungen in Osteuropa*, Schriften der Internationalen Konferenz für Agrarwissenschaft (Berlin, 1939), I, preface, especially pp. xiv-xxiii; W. J. Rose, "Russian Poland in the Later Nineteenth Century," *The Cambridge History of Poland*, II (Cambridge, 1941), 393-394, 395 ff.

regions of France, Belgium, Poland, and the Baltic provinces land in which they and their children could settle; those of another section saw official positions; those of a third saw a market possibility for their wares.<sup>5</sup>

In the west the Germans got the Belgian and French coal mines into production by means of rigorous military measures. Naturally, they did not find any such developed economic establishment as they marched eastward.<sup>6</sup> The Russians had allowed their eastern frontier provinces to remain without adequate railroad and road facilities. Economic dislocation, which always accompanies war, was heightened by the withdrawal of all governing officials (namely, Russians, rather than local population). Merely to enable them to carry on the war, the German occupying forces had to undertake construction of transportation facilities, develop devices to regulate the economic life of the areas they occupied, and, in general, completely take upon themselves the government of the regions of Poland, Lithuania, and Courland which they occupied during the summer offensive of 1915.

The German economic position in 1915 was not desperate: most supplies were received in quantity via the neutrals, Holland and the Scandinavian countries and even Italy. Home stocks were not yet exhausted. However, the experts could see the possibility of losing connection with America after the *Lusitania* incident in May (and the Germans tried to maintain the connection by circumscribing their submarine offensive policy throughout 1916). The experts also knew that the home stocks could not last much longer. The most they had was a two years' supply. Lack of the proper fertilizers and a declining supply of agricultural labor due to recruitment also lowered domestic crop yields. In the fall of 1915 the German harvest failed. Therefore it was insisted that the occupied regions be made to run on a paying basis.<sup>7</sup>

From the outset, occupied Russian Poland was separated from the other

<sup>5</sup> Grumbach, p. 30; *Ursachen*, VIII, 60-62, 313-14. In spite of the fact that the German offensives on the eastern front served to reinforce the annexationist trend in Germany, the seizures of Poland in July and August and of Lithuania and Courland in September were not politically motivated. Poland was occupied in an attempt to encircle the Russian army, which withdrew before German and Austrian forces could join in its rear. The occupation of the southern Baltic provinces was the result of a similar ill-timed flanking movement which became stalled. See Liddell Hart, *A History of the World War* (Boston, 1935), pp. 199-201.

<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of coal, see Montague W. W. P. Consett and Octavius H. Daniel, *The Triumph of Unarmed Forces (1914-1918): An Account of the Transactions by Which Germany during the Great War Was Able to Obtain Supplies prior to Her Collapse under the Pressure of Economic Forces* (New York, 1923), p. 114; for a general picture of conditions in eastern Europe, see Erich Ludendorff, *My War Memories* (London, n.d.), I, 188 ff., and *Das Land Ober Ost: Der Ausbau der Militärverwaltung*, herausgegeben im Auftrag des Oberbefehlshabers Ost, Presseabteilung Ober Ost (Berlin, 1917), pp. 93-94.

<sup>7</sup> Ludendorff refers to the blockade as the deciding factor in the case (*Memories*, I, 188); see also Consett and Daniel, p. 43; Guichard, pp. 38, 47, 52, 263-65, 279, 285; Maurice Parmelee, *Blockade and Sea Power* (New York, 1924), pp. 210-14.

occupied areas and split between the Germans and the Austrians. In fact, Poland had been a political issue from the very beginning of hostilities. On August 6, 1914, Joseph Pilsudski with seventeen "legionnaires" had officially captured Kielce in Russian Poland (with the help of the Austrian army) and set up a provisional government. Thus it was the Austrians and not the Germans who began to deal with Poland's future first. Moreover, the Austrian interest in Poland was of lasting importance. The Poles in Galicia were not particularly discontented with their lot. The landowning Polish nobility, which had a voice in the Austrian parliament, already dominated non-Polish Eastern Galicia. They hoped, by extending Habsburg control to the bulk of Congress Poland, to become the leaders of a Polish kingdom which would form the third partner in a tripartite state. Unalterably opposed to their scheme were the Hungarians, who did not wish to see their power in the Habsburg structure diminished in this way. However, throughout the war it was the aim of the foreign ministers of Austria-Hungary, Burian and Czernin, to win Poland for the Habsburgs, whether by annexation to Austria or in some complicated *Ausgleich*.<sup>8</sup>

Czernin says, "At the occupation of Poland we were already unfairly treated, and the Germans had appropriated the greater part of the country." Actually, German and Austrian delegates to a conference at Kattowitz in May, 1915, before the offensive had divided the zones of occupation. For occupation purposes the Austrians were assigned the smaller section around Lublin, while Germany took the northern and western sections. Each state set up a military government in its region. The first move of the Germans toward a planned exploitation of their section was to commission Dr. Max Sering, an economist, to make a trip of inspection in Poland in September, 1915. His report was not filed until July, 1916; meanwhile the Germans removed Poland from its insignificant status as a zone of communications by setting up a "General Government" which was at least theoretically directly responsible to the kaiser.<sup>9</sup>

At the head of this German government for Poland was a military governor, General von Beseler. Under him there developed an administrative system after the Prussian pattern, utilizing both military personnel unfit for

<sup>8</sup> St. Estreicher, "Galicia in the Period of Autonomy and Self-Government, 1849-1914," *Cambridge History of Poland*, II, 447-60; R. Dyboski, "The Polish Question during the World War," *ibid.*, pp. 463-66, 481-83; Count Ottokar Czernin, *In the World War* (London, 1919), pp. 200-205.

<sup>9</sup> Dyboski, p. 467; *Ursachen*, VIII, 312-13; D. Schaefer, "Die Schuld an der Wiederherstellung Polens," a pamphlet published by *Die Monatschrift für das Deutsche Volk* (Munich, n.d.), quoted in Erich Ludendorff, *Die Urkunden der Obersten Heeresleitung* (Berlin, 1920), pp. 297-98.

combat and German civilians. Poles had no part in this government in the years 1915-1916, although some were employed by the Austrians in their zone. The administration was typically thorough, even to the creation of school inspectors; it was greeted with complete opposition by the Poles. Owing to the notoriously poor channels of communication upwards in the Prussian administrative system, the people at the top, especially General von Beseler, were of the opinion that the system was working smoothly, in spite of rigorous German efforts at economic exploitation, including not only a system of taxation but the dismantling of factories, the drafting of the unemployed for work in German plants, and the requisitioning of agricultural produce. In fact, General von Beseler, misled by the continued existence of a small Austro-Polish legion within the Habsburg army, believed that he could get a large number of recruits for a Polish army under German direction, if he could offer the Poles some semblance of self-government. He wished, however, to take over the whole of Poland, which of course did not suit Austrian plans.

On the contrary, in 1915 the Austrian foreign minister, Count Burian, had already discussed the Austrian desire to include Poland within the Habsburg state with the German chancellor and had been put off. Bethmann-Hollweg seems to have hoped for a more German solution to the Polish problem even then, although he was careful to limit himself in his August 19, 1915, speech to friendly generalities about the common future of the Germans and the Poles. The German newspapers at this time were instructed to "go easy" on the Poles. The Poles, then, were to be persuaded of something. The next April (1916) Bethmann-Hollweg announced that Germany had not opened the problem of Poland but that a return to the status quo was impossible; he connected this statement with the remark that Russia could not again be allowed to control the gates of invasion toward Germany.<sup>10</sup>

At the same time Burian was insisting on the Austrian point of view that Poland should be opened up at least economically for both partners. The result was a visit paid by Bethmann-Hollweg to Vienna on August 11 and 12, 1916. At the two-day conference it was decided that Poland should be set up as a constitutional hereditary monarchy in the near future by proclamation of the German and Austrian monarchs. Boundaries and actual implementation of the proclamation were to await the end of the war. A Polish army was to be called into being immediately, however, and the Polish railways were to be divided between Austria and Germany. There was some difference of opinion about the future economic status of Poland, but the German

<sup>10</sup> Lutz, I, 185-86; *Ursachen*, VIII, 313-14.



view was more positively represented: inclusion in a German tariff union. Neither state would surrender any territory to the new Poland.<sup>11</sup>

If the agreement seems to favor German plans, it will help to recall some other events going on in August, 1916; the Brusilov offensive had reoccupied Bukovina and Eastern Galicia. The Austrian military machine was going to need a transfusion of military strength from Germany, and the German army was about to undergo the shake-up of August 28. The team of Hindenburg and Ludendorff was about to be given control over the armies of both powers. The Austrians might well look to their interests, and Bethmann-Hollweg must have realized that a man like Ludendorff would support von Beseler's point of view. In a letter to a German paper published in Lodz in February, 1916, the then chief of staff of the Army of the East had written that "Lodz would retain its historical significance in a western society: *Mitteleuropa*." Ludendorff was sold on reconstituting Poland, and the chancellor seems to have been happy enough to get started, especially since he feared a counter-proclamation from the Russian side in October.<sup>12</sup>

The actual proclamation did not appear, however, until November 5. How closely this proclamation was connected with von Beseler's notion that he "could raise four divisions of Polish troops" is shown by the proceedings of a preparatory conference called by Bethmann-Hollweg to which some government officials and some of the German nobility were invited on October 21. Here von Beseler was allowed to announce the German-Austrian decision of August 12 and to explain how he was going to use the imperial proclamation to raise troops. The Reichstag was not told of the proclamation beforehand. The vague character of the announcement did not prevent but perhaps invited criticism by some of the German parties, as usual not for similar reasons.<sup>13</sup>

Apparently, the Austrian and German proclamations did not provoke any great stir in Poland, beyond questions as to how soon the German administrators would give place to Poles. As this query had no answer as yet, the Polish attitude probably worsened. In any case practically no recruits turned up for the Polish army.<sup>14</sup> Von Beseler then took it upon himself to implement the proclamation beyond the decision of August 12. On November 13, 1916, he proclaimed the nomination of a Polish council of state and promised the election of a united diet, without waiting for permission to come down from

<sup>11</sup> Ludendorff, *Urkunden*, pp. 298-300.

<sup>12</sup> Ludendorff letter to the *Deutscher Lodzer Zeitung*, dated Feb. 9, 1916, in Grumbach, p. 24; *Ursachen*, VIII, 318-19, including n. 18, p. 318.

<sup>13</sup> The proclamation is given in Lutz, I, 760; *Ursachen*, VIII, 316-17.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 319.

the German government, and without notifying the Austrian authorities. To prevent this development from getting out of hand, von Beseler was instructed to issue still a third proclamation, which set up a twenty-five-man council of state but no diet. A similar proclamation was issued for the Austrian zone. Von Beseler was not punished or removed. The effect of the announcement, however, was to involve Germany in the creation, during the war, of a real puppet state.

The Polish council met in January, 1917, and, of course, functioned in a purely advisory manner. It had a few organizing and administrative functions subject to German and Austrian commissioners' approval. "Its projects were largely disregarded and all executive power was in the hands of Germans and Austrians." Continued German efforts to develop a Polish army were made especially difficult by the attitude of Pilsudski, who had resigned from leadership of the Austro-Polish legion at the close of the Brusilov offensive. He professed to believe that the Germans (who were now in command of the whole eastern front) were using the Poles as cannon-fodder. The Russian revolution of March, 1917, also seemed to promise something better for Poland than the Central Powers could offer. When Pilsudski was arrested by the Germans for making propaganda against their "Polish Army" in July, 1917, the council of state resigned.<sup>15</sup>

The Austrians had not abandoned their interest in Poland. Czernin, who had replaced Burian after the Rumanian attack on Transylvania, carried on his predecessor's attempt to win Poland for Austria-Hungary. In April, 1917, the new emperor, Karl, appeared at supreme headquarters to persuade the kaiser to allow the archduke Stefan to be nominated as regent of Poland. This attempt failed; the military point of view was getting an ever larger hearing in Germany as the collapse of the Russian front developed. This view was concerned with getting for Germany very large sections of Poland by pure annexation, and in no way with an "Austrian" solution. After a few months in office, Czernin seems to have understood better than his German contemporaries just how serious a position the Central Powers were in. Even before the July, 1917, peace resolution of the German Reichstag, Czernin had submitted to the German government an entirely different plan regarding Poland, which corresponded with his expectation that Germany and Austria-Hungary would be fortunate to get off with a negotiated peace.<sup>16</sup>

Germany was to be allowed to have Poland as a Hohenzollern inheritance,

<sup>15</sup> Dyboski, pp. 467-70.

<sup>16</sup> Czernin, 145-46, 200-206; Ludendorff, *Memories*, I, 398-400; *Ursachen*, VIII, 320.

including Galicia, in return for which Germany would cede Alsace-Lorraine back to France and make peace. After Michaelis took office as chancellor, he officially refused the Czernin offer. Apparently at the behest of Ludendorff, he also seemed willing to see what remained of a Polish state (after Germany had taken what it wanted) exercise self-determination even to the extent of joining with a Russia (with which in August, 1917, Germany could probably have made peace).

The Polish state had, however, temporarily gone out of existence. That it was not the purpose of the kaiser and his advisers to lose the value of a puppet regime in a territory which they were still occupying and exploiting can be seen in their next creation: a regency council, consisting of three Poles—Prince Lubomirsky, the mayor of Warsaw; Archbishop Kakowsky of Cracow; and Ostrowsky, a large landowner. The Austrian government also recognized this new council as well as a second, restored, council of state. These new organs of government were set up in September, 1917, by letters patent from the German kaiser to von Beseler, who was instructed to issue them jointly with the Austrian governor in Lublin. The governors' proclamations announced that the new Polish "government" would have a prime minister and that it would go beyond its previous advisory functions. They did not announce that every clause of the six-article letters patent was hedged with extraordinarily careful controls, leaving nothing to the sole decision of the Poles.<sup>17</sup>

By Christmas, 1917, Ludendorff and his subordinate, General Hoffmann, had developed a strong difference of opinion as to how much of Poland should be annexed to Germany. Ludendorff's line ran close to Warsaw, which would give Germany nearly seven million Poles; Hoffman wished to limit Germany to "absolutely necessary" strategic rectifications to prevent such political imbalance as Ludendorff's plan suggested.<sup>18</sup>

Meanwhile, at Kreuznach on December 12, the high command had tentatively agreed to a solution to the disposition of Poland which Michaelis' successor, Hertling, had arranged with Czernin. Poland was to form the third member of a tripartite Habsburg state. This solution was certainly "Austrian," although it guaranteed German economic concessions, such as in the Dombrowa coal fields, and was based on "adequate" frontier modifications in Germany's favor. Ludendorff later stated that he had only agreed

<sup>17</sup> Dyboski, p. 473; the letters patent and other related documents are given in Lutz, I, 760-64.

<sup>18</sup> *Ursachen*, VIII, 220, 321-23.

to this settlement on the basis of his broad defensive belt. The Austrians must have been left in ignorance of this interpretation; they never wanted to accept such a tag-end Poland as would have been left to them by Ludendorff's partition.<sup>19</sup>

On the eve of the peace with Russia, Germany and Austria-Hungary seemed to have reached an agreement about the future of Poland. That agreement was more apparent than real, for Czernin had not silenced Hungarian opposition to trialism and Ludendorff did not completely dominate Hertling's government. Left-wing Reichstag members had not grown silent either since their peace resolution.<sup>20</sup> And at the conclusion of peace in the east, Austria-Hungary and Germany would find themselves not with fewer problems but with more—even with regard to Poland.

The German experience in the Baltic provinces of Russia was very different from that in Poland. In the first place, there was no rival such as Austria-Hungary. In the second place, this region had been even less developed economically and culturally under Russian administration than had Poland. In the third place, the Germans found not one nationality but several. Yet the Germans did not have an easier time of it here in this far-off corner of Europe than they had in Poland at the crossroads of eastern Europe. They reckoned as falsely here on co-operation from the population as they had farther south; furthermore, inner political quarrels within the German government and army sabotaged the common plans.

In German hands by September, 1915, were the Russian provinces of Courland, Kovno, Vilna, Grodno, and Bialystok, as well as the appendage of Congress Poland called Suwalki. From the fall of 1915 until Hindenburg's order of June 7, 1916, these regions were each administered as part of the rear echelon of military units of the Army Command Upper-East (*Ober Ost*). Hindenburg's order recognized the necessity of unifying the administration of this sizable area, especially since the eastern front in the north had become very stable. Even before his order, the military commands of Suwalki and Vilna had been unified, as well as Bialystok and Grodno.<sup>21</sup>

As a result of the June 7, 1916, order, a military government was set up

<sup>19</sup> For the Hertling-Czernin agreement see Dyboski, p. 487; on the Kreuznach conference see Ludendorff, *Memories*, II, 531-35, 545-48; Czernin's attitude toward a "tag-end" Poland is given in his memoirs, pp. 206-207.

<sup>20</sup> For their complaints see Lutz, I, 781.

<sup>21</sup> "Der Ausbau der Militärverwaltung," *Das Land Ober Ost*, pp. 78-84; *Ursachen*, VIII, 329-30.

for the whole region, to function alongside the rear-echelon commands which remained. This strictly military formation contained almost no German civilian personnel and fewer natives. At the head of the military government was the first quartermaster of the staff of the Army Command *Ober Ost*, which was Hindenburg's command until August 28, 1916, when he became supreme commander of the German and Austrian forces. There were ten staff members, including the first quartermaster, concerned with the military government. Each of the other nine had a "section," such as the political section, the finance section, the agricultural economy section, etc. In the field, there were three district commanders, corresponding to the old provinces of Courland, Suwalki-Kovno-Vilna (Lithuania), and Bialystok-Grodno. They had smaller staffs corresponding to the military government members of the army staff. In each county (*Kreis*) a reserve officer was responsible to the district commandant. The system was so complicated that a military personage was responsible for every township (*Amtsbezirk*) and village. Much of this system was Ludendorff's own work. He was very fond of his plan to make this *Land Ober Ost* a colonial territory for the settlement of "his" soldiers after the war, as well as a haven for the refugee Germans from inner Russia.<sup>22</sup>

Administratively, the region did not undergo any serious changes in 1917. The city of Riga was added to the Courland district after its capture in the fall of 1917. The district of Bialystok-Grodno was joined to the region of Lithuania, also in the fall of 1917. This consolidation marked a point in the German plans when it seemed desirable to prevent Poland from becoming so large (by demanding the Lithuanian area) as to become a political Frankenstein to her creators. The population of Bialystok-Grodno was neither Polish nor Lithuanian; it was Ruthenian or White Russian, but without any political tradition of its own. Another administrative change which had little effect upon the actual management of the region occurred in the fall of 1917. A governor general, Count Waldersee, took over the responsibilities of the first quartermaster with the military government staff, but unlike von Beseler, Waldersee still only represented the Army Commander *Ober Ost*, who was now Prince Leopold of Bavaria. On an equal rank with Waldersee, however, was an undersecretary of the ministry of the interior, Freiherr von Falkenhausen, who bore the title Reichskommissar for the Baltic Territories and Lithuania. A more complicated system of administration can scarcely be imagined: two parallel military systems (military government and rear-

<sup>22</sup> "Ausbau," *Land Ober Ost*, pp. 86-93; Ludendorff, *Memories*, I, 206; II, 471, 521.

echelon commands) and a "responsible" civil administrator who had no personnel at his disposal! Of course, the situation reflected the rivalries and indeterminacies of the German government at this period.<sup>23</sup>

Thus far, political consideration of the local population had played less of a part in the area of the Baltic provinces. Economic requirements were correspondingly more significant and were pursued more ruthlessly than in Poland, where the semi-civilian administrators occasionally were moved to look out for the native population. Hindenburg's order of June 7, 1916, expressly stated that "The interests of the Army and the Reich must always precede those of the occupied territory." This was not living up to the Hague Convention, which required the occupying power to administer the revenues of a region for the good of its inhabitants.<sup>24</sup>

The region was primarily devoted to agriculture and forestry. Consequently, the greatest efforts were made by the military government to exploit the raw materials available. That the rye and potato harvest of 1915 was largely secured for the army of occupation was due to Ludendorff's quick action on arriving at his new headquarters at Kovno in September. So-called "agricultural experts" (also military personnel) were assigned to the reserve officers in each county. These men were supposed to help the county officers to get the quotas of agricultural and forest products for which they were responsible. The Germans were not content with the backward forms of agriculture which they found on the great estates of Courland. They repaired the drainage systems, so important to the swampy sections. They took over many of these estates and ran them with military personnel, using army horses for plowing, etc. They had farm machinery sent from Germany as well as seed, agricultural experimentation was begun, and better farming methods were propagandized. According to Ludendorff, these efforts showed results, too, for in 1916 *das Land Ober Ost* not only provided for itself and its military burden, but also supplied the city of Berlin with some food. Lumber production was also of great significance. Not only did the local troops require the wood for building shelters and for fuel but wood was also shipped back to the Reich and as far south as Serbia. Resin and charcoal were other products of the Baltic forests important to the German war effort.

<sup>23</sup> Preface, *Land Ober Ost*, pp. vi-vii; *Ursachen*, VIII, 330-31; after the November, 1916, proclamation concerning the re-creation of a Polish state, the Poles had begun to use the German and Austrian disagreements, not to speak of the Allied promises as political ammunition (*Ursachen*, VIII, 319); the Polish nobility of Lithuania even called for reunion of the two kingdoms and the restoration of the frontiers of 1772 in May, 1917. See "Litauen" in *Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtums*, III, Lieferung 5 (Breslau, 1939), 373.

<sup>24</sup> "Ausbau," *Land Ober Ost*, pp. 84-85.



Ludendorff wrote later, "We also supplied the War Department with skins and hides, copper and brass (salvaged of course), rags and scrap-iron." The existing factories in Libau, Kovno, and Bialystok were run by the German army, among them one that made barbed wire.<sup>25</sup>

Not the least significant of the economic resources of any land is its labor-power. By 1916 Germany was in great need of men to replace the men who had been called to the army. Ludendorff hoped to use the local population of three million as a reservoir of labor-power, and some efforts were made to get laborers to go to Germany. However, the best use for local labor was found to be in the region itself. In fact, only through the use of the rationing system was it possible for the occupying forces to get work done by the civilian population, which had no part in the management of its own affairs and little interest in a German victory. The Germans could not understand that new railroad lines (on which only Germans rode) and school systems (with purely German instructors, since there were no trained Lithuanians or Letts) could not make up for endless requisitions, new taxes, and the daily friction between Prussian autocratic thoroughness and an almost medieval peasant culture.<sup>26</sup>

Far from accepting the conditions of what they regarded as a backward, "colonial" region, the Germans set about creating a bureaucratic paradise, oblivious of the basic fact that their human "material" was, after all, human, and under certain conditions, unco-operative. How much they succeeded in doing tells us more about the slow development of local resistance in this region than about German organizing ability. Many projects remained on paper. Not in this category, however, was the financial system of *das Land Ober Ost*. The Germans created their own banks and their own *Ober Ost* currency to relieve the load on the home financial system. After October, 1916, the whole region operated on a yearly, self-sustaining budget. From the point of view of the hopeful Ludendorff the road to sound economic development had but to be paved with restrictions against "speculators," and the Baltic provinces would have become an important element in the German economy. The general, however, was even a worse economist than he was a politician. The region was probably more important to Russia economically, as a window on the Baltic, than it could ever have become to Germany. That Ludendorff was not alone in his interest in some form of annexation for

<sup>25</sup> *Land Ober Ost*, *passim*, especially pp. 195-97, 216-18; Ludendorff, *Memories*, I, 194-200.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 521; "But it was hard to persuade the population that they had not only rights but also duties," Oskar Woehrlé, "Wilna," *Land Ober Ost*, p. 59; "Litauen," *ibid.*, pp. 380-81 (railroads), 391 (schools); *Ursachen*, VIII, 330, 335-36 (friction).

the Baltic provinces is traceable to the old view that this area above all was Germany's "original colonial territory" (*urdeutsches Siedlungsland*), that at least in Courland and in the thin strip of coast from Memel to Riga, the "only existing civilization" was German.<sup>27</sup>

The facts were very different. In Courland, where the Germans were really the landowning nobility, they formed only eight per cent of the total population, which otherwise was Lettish. The Germans formed twenty-five per cent of the "German city" of Riga. In Lithuania, and especially in Suwalki, which had been part of the *Neuostpreussen* of 1795, the Germans were represented in the towns but scarcely at all in the rural areas. Lithuania, as constituted by the Germans, had large Polish (in and around Vilna) and Ruthenian minorities and a small German minority; the rest of the population was Lithuanian. We have observed that the area which the Germans called "Lithuania" in 1917 was much larger than the area of "Courland." By that year the German government had begun to take a political interest in the Baltic provinces for at least the reason that the Poles were beginning to talk about absorbing Lithuania into a new state, a suggestion which also had its historical precedent. At the same time that the civil government of Germany found use for a politically conscious Lithuania, the Lithuanians began to rediscover their old nationalism. It is hardly coincidence that Lithuanian newspapers appeared, a Lithuanian refugee committee was set up, and the administrative boundaries of Lithuania were extended—all at the same time. After several unofficial attempts at electing a diet or *sejmas*, the Germans finally sanctioned the formation of a council of state or *taryba* in September, 1917. The Lithuanian patriots were led by Anton Smetona, an admirer of Western (or German?) culture. In opposition to the *taryba* were the democratic forces of Lithuania, which desired federal union with the new Russian state, and looked to the allies for salvation. The *taryba* was more inclined to a close working relationship with Germany.<sup>28</sup>

At the same time that the Lithuanian council of state was formed, in September, 1917, a similar council for Courland was called into being with the consent of the military government by the old feudal assembly of knights and gentry (*Ritter und Landschaft*). This new political unit was composed of Germans with a few Letts and Livonians. In Courland there was no opposition to worry about. This very council, immediately after its appointment, called

<sup>27</sup> Otto Fischer, "Geld und Kreditwesen," *Land Ober Ost*, pp. 103-105; Ludendorff, *Memories*, I, 178-79; *Ursachen*, VIII, 336.

<sup>28</sup> Leon Dominian, *Frontiers of Language and Nationality* (New York, 1917), pp. 105-108 (Dominian's figures are taken from H. Rosen, *Die ethnographische Verhältnisse in den baltischen Provinzen und in Litauen*, *Pet. Mitt.*, Sept. 1915, pp. 329-33); "Unsere Kriegspresse," *Land Ober Ost*, pp. 138-42; "Litauen," *Handwörterbuch*, pp. 372-74; Ludendorff, *Memories*, I, 192.

upon the German kaiser to assume the crown as archduke of Courland.<sup>29</sup> That it was the high command's intention that the Lithuanians should make a similar offer to William II is clear from Ludendorff's memoirs. The Lithuanians were, however, not so obliging, even in the hand-picked *taryba*. One reason lay in the better bargaining position in which they found themselves. Furthermore, they were Catholic, not Lutheran, as the whole population of Courland was. As early as August, 1917, Matthias Erzberger, of the German Center party, speaking at a Catholic gathering in Zurich, had taken their part, urging "self-determination." At the same time, the Social Democrats were calling for broader representation for both the Lithuanian and Courlandish "governments." (In fact, neither council had more power—and probably less—than the Polish counterpart.) There was evidence that the army command was holding back travel permits from Lithuanians in the *taryba* who wished to discuss the Lithuanian status in the German system with the German government.<sup>30</sup>

Two days before the formal negotiations opened at Brest Litovsk, i.e., on December 11, 1917, the *taryba* issued a "declaration of independence" directed primarily against Russia. (Finland had made a similar declaration without the impetus of German occupation.) The *taryba* declaration was not especially popular with the military government nor with the Hertling administration; one has to look in vain for a similar declaration from the Courlandish council, which from the German point of view was better regulated. The Lithuanians were showing a little too much self-determination for many Germans.<sup>31</sup>

When the German negotiators went to Brest Litovsk they were prepared to set the seal of permanency upon the German handiwork in Poland, Lithuania, and Courland by making a definite settlement with their eastern opponents. Furthermore, they went as conquerors, planning the economic exploitation not only of the areas already held but of wider and richer territories: the Ukraine, the Caucasus, and even Turkestan. The agitations of earlier years seemed to be bearing rich fruit. German economic and strategical security seemed almost achieved. Actually, the Germans were about to embark upon a less and less realistic policy as a result of their ignorance of the conditions prevailing in eastern Europe.

<sup>29</sup> Preface, *Land Ober Ost*, p. viii; *Ursachen*, VIII, 335; "Lettland," *Handwörterbuch*, III, 353-55.

<sup>30</sup> Ludendorff, *Memoires*, I, 471. The good Lithuanian bargaining position was due to the Polish "Frankenstein" threat as well as to good connections with the Entente and the U.S.A. via Switzerland ("Litauen," *Land Ober Ost*, p. 373). For Erzberger and the Social Democrats see *Ursachen*, VIII, 331, 336-37, for travel restrictions, see Lutz, I, 781.

<sup>31</sup> "Litauen," *Land Ober Ost*, p. 374.

"Greater Germany" looked closest to realization just when the pressure of the economic and military forces which had called it into being reached a point where nothing could save Germany from defeat. Germany's imports from the neutrals had dried up. Her stockpiles had disappeared. She was short of manpower. The great imperialist venture would continue throughout 1918, but in vain—it was too late, though few Germans realized it.<sup>32</sup>

In preparation for making peace, the Germans held two consultations among themselves in December, 1917. The first occurred under the chairmanship of the chancellor, in Berlin on the sixth. The second took the form of a crown council at Kreuznach, supreme headquarters, on the eighteenth. The amazing thing about this second meeting, at which were present not only Hertling but von Kühlmann, the future negotiator at Brest Litovsk, as well as Hindenburg, Ludendorff, and General Hoffmann, was the failure to reach any unanimity about the kind of peace Germany wished to make. Naturally, the military point of view included German expansion in Poland and a union of Lithuania and Courland via the Hohenzollern crown. Von Kühlmann already seems to have expected that Brest Litovsk would be the prelude to a general peace, and held back on his views at this time. As a result, he went to the conference at Brest Litovsk aware that he would have to oppose the high command without ever having told them his reasons.<sup>33</sup>

This indication of fear of the military party by the government might well be taken as a symbol for the whole of German policy in 1918. The civil government was not in agreement with the high command, but in the last analysis it had to submit to military dictation. The result was that wherever military force could show victories in 1918 (and this was certainly possible at Brest Litovsk), Germany seemed to progress farther along toward the goals of the expansionist element. This progress, however, did not represent the well-planned realization of both short-term goals (survival in wartime) and long-term ones (the creation of a powerful economic, military, and political bloc). It represented merely the military occupation of more territory, the creation of more and more offices and agencies, the signing of treaties with puppet governments incapable of fulfilling their promises of economic aid.

The type of negotiations which von Kühlmann carried on behind the façade of the Christmas Day offer to the Entente of "No annexations and no indemnities" was in fact expansionist in character. The proposals which

<sup>32</sup> Guichard, *Naval Blockade*, pp. 127-29, 257-302 *passim*.

<sup>33</sup> Czernin, *In the World War*, p. 223; John W. Wheeler-Bennett, *The Forgotten Peace: Brest-Litovsk, March 1918* (New York, 1939), pp. 104-11; *Ursachen*, VIII, 218 (see also n. 1 on this page).

the Germans made to the Russian delegation regarding the evacuation of Poland and the Baltic provinces indicate that they intended to stay in these areas. Von Kühlmann had devoted great energy to persuading Turkey that she should not demand immediate evacuation of the Caucasus region on the part of the Russians, since that would embarrass the Germans, who wished to stay in their occupied zones. Even at its most idealistic stage, the German party at Brest Litovsk did not consider abandoning the system whose groundwork had been laid down in the past years of warfare. Excited protests from Ludendorff and Hindenburg at this time indicate that the high command objected to the German government's concept of *Angliederung* (affiliation) in the plans for Poland and the Baltic region.<sup>34</sup>

Czernin, too, was subjected to pressure from home; Austrian food supplies were extremely low, and only immediate imports of grain from the Ukraine supplies would enable the Dual Monarchy to hold out. Therefore, after the resumption of the negotiations with the Russians on January 9, Germany and Austria entered into private discussions with the delegates from the Ukrainian People's Republic regarding political and economic questions. Thus, not only would the Ukrainians provide a useful weapon for von Kühlmann against Bolshevik maneuvering but Czernin was able to see hope for the survival of Austria-Hungary through the trade with the new Ukrainian state. Furthermore, the German high command was anxious to further Ukrainian aspirations at the expense of Poland, still fearing the appearance on Germany's east boundary of a formidable Polish state. The attentions of the German and Austrian parties turned more and more to the "bread peace" with the Ukrainian Republic, and a treaty with the Ukraine actually was signed on February 9, the day before Trotsky broke off negotiations.<sup>35</sup>

At the Homburg conference on the thirteenth, at which the kaiser presided, von Kühlmann's Fabian policy was defeated by the Ludendorff plan of a limited military demonstration to straighten out the German lines around Dvinsk and remind the Bolsheviks on which side the power lay. Apparently, Hertling agreed to this plan, not aware that Ludendorff would carry out not only the preventive occupation of the northern half of the Baltic coast, inland as far as Lake Peipus—thus denying Livonia and Esthonia to the Bolsheviks—but would also support the wavering government of the Ukraine by military action against Red troops. Von Kühlmann

<sup>34</sup> Czernin, pp. 228, 231; Wheeler-Bennett, pp. 123-28; *Ursachen*, VIII, 225, 238.

<sup>35</sup> Czernin, pp. 230-31, 237-44; Ludendorff, *Memories*, II, 468, 554-55; Lutz, I, 802-809; *Ursachen*, VIII, 327, n. 46.

opposed any military action to the last, probably with German public opinion in mind, if not with fear of the effect on world opinion and of the effect on the German military machine.<sup>36</sup>

As a result of the German military operations, the signature of a Russian delegation was obtained on March 3, to a treaty which recognized the independence of the anti-Bolshevik government of the Ukraine, abandoned claim to Congress Poland, Lithuania, and Courland, and promised immediate withdrawal of all Red forces from Esthonia, Livonia, and Finland. German troops were sent into Finland to prevent the collapse of the anti-Bolshevik government recognized by Germany on March 9. As the great western offensive got under way in March and April, German divisions were pushing their way into the Donets Basin toward Rostov, against varying resistance. The objects were food, coal, and oil (from the Caspian region), and perhaps the cotton of Turkestan. When the Ukrainian Republic could not sustain the government which had made peace with the Central Powers, Ludendorff set up a puppet regime under Hetman Skoropadsky, and carried on with his penetration into the Crimea and into Georgia. Naturally, the presence of German troops was not regarded favorably by the Turkish allies, but Ludendorff feared the British in Persia and doubted Turkish powers of resistance. Besides he did not care to see even his allies get control of the Caucasian oil.<sup>37</sup>

The Germans were getting some oil from Rumania in 1917, even before the armistice concluded by that government on December 9, 1917, at Focsani. Similarly, Austria-Hungary was drawing maize and other grains from Wallachia that year. When the Germans presented an ultimatum to Ferdinand's government on February 6, 1918, to "make peace within four days," they had the following plan in mind. Rumania should become a permanent economic vassal of Germany and Austria-Hungary, with Germany holding the whip hand. Rumania should cede her oil wells, harbor facilities, and railroads to German companies and place the control of state finances in German hands. There should be an agricultural quota to be delivered annually for a certain number of years, and Rumania should be occupied for at least five or six years. The Germans were not anxious to see the whole Dobrudja area go to Bulgaria, so a German-Austrian condominium was

<sup>36</sup> Count Karl Hertling, *Ein Jahr in der Reichskanzlei: Erinnerungen an der Kanzlerschaft meines Vaters* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1919), pp. 72-76; Ludendorff, *Urkunden*, p. 470; Friedrich von Payer, *Von Bethmann-Hollweg bis Ebert* (Frankfurt am Main, 1923), pp. 61-65.

<sup>37</sup> Ludendorff, *Memories*, II, 619-24, 659; see also *Cambridge History of Poland*, II, 475.



proclaimed for the area at the mouth of the Danube, including northern Dobrudja.<sup>38</sup>

The treaty of Bucharest of May 7, 1918, was not so harsh as this program, owing to lack of Austrian support, but it indicates well enough what the Germans were seeking here, where there could be no question of German annexations. (Annexations by Austria-Hungary such as Czernin had contemplated were not welcome.) At Bucharest the Germans received a ninety-year lease of the Rumanian oil wells; Rumania bound herself to make grain deliveries for some time; the occupation was to be continued at least until a general European peace; Germany and Austria-Hungary assumed control over the mouth of the Danube.<sup>39</sup>

As the German troops pushed across the Marne again in July, it looked to many Germans who had been hesitant earlier that the high command was making all of its propositions pay. But a glance at what Liddell Hart calls the "military balance-sheet of the past six months' transactions" shows us what few Germans knew. Ludendorff had opened his campaign with a credit balance of 207 divisions, with 82 in reserve. "Now he had only 66 'fit' divisions in reserve, most of them really so watered down that they could hardly be counted as sound assets." The German break-through at Reims required more reserves than Ludendorff could supply. Yet on the eastern front there were three cavalry divisions in idleness at this time. The eastern front was not a war front, except as the Germans encountered some especially determined band of Red guards. But the great area to be patrolled absorbed men. Furthermore, Bolshevik Russia was not good training ground for reserve troops. General Hoffmann admitted later that some units actually were not dispatched westward because of the fear of spreading the Bolshevik infection.<sup>40</sup>

Nor did the vast operation pay in matériel. The disappearance of the Ukrainian government, which had made the February 9 treaties offering grain for independence, put Germany and Austria-Hungary in a bad position inside that country, in spite of their armed forces. Military requisitioning could not solve the problem simply because there were no great food supplies in the Ukraine after four years of war, and a sabotage policy of the Red troops and Bolshevized peasantry merely added the finishing touch. The grain harvest of 1918 had to go to feed the troops in occupation as well

<sup>38</sup> Czernin, pp. 238, 267; Ludendorff, *Memories*, I, 355-60; *Ursachen*, VIII, 253-59.

<sup>39</sup> Czernin, pp. 207-208; Lutz, I, 832-35; *Ursachen*, VIII, 241-51.

<sup>40</sup> Hart, *History of the World War*, p. 535; Ludendorff, *Memories*, II, 572-73; Wheeler-Bennett, pp. 327, 352.

as the local populace, before any could be shipped westward. Shipping was so tied up with troop movements during the frantic summer months of the western offensive and Allied counteroffensive, that what foodstuffs were available had a hard time leaving Odessa. Some of the grain from the Ukraine and from Rumania had to go to Bulgaria too, as a bribe, for it was feared, and rightly too, that Bulgaria was negotiating with Franchet d'Esperet for peace. When it was too late, the Bulgarian shipments were ordered stopped. Czernin wrote later that the food that was imported saved lives in Austria-Hungary. The raw materials which Germany got (coal and oil) might have enabled her to hold out industrially in 1918, and in an economic war afterwards, if she could have made peace with the Allies on better terms, and if the high command could have contained the Allied counteroffensive and mastered its fears. But there were not enough reserves to give Ludendorff confidence in holding out.<sup>41</sup>

The fate of German expansion rested in 1918 with the power of the German army. As long as German victory seemed assured, the vision of a Greater Germany grew not less bright in 1918 but brighter still. To the vacant thrones of Poland, Lithuania, and Courland were added those of Esthonia-Livonia, and later Finland. Germany had got a foothold on the Black Sea and had come near the Caspian. The great overland empire seemed close to realization.<sup>42</sup>

But even without the defeat that was brewing in the west, Germany was not master of the inner contradictions in her new system as it took shape during the year 1918. Above all, a strong opposition to "annexations," which included *Angliederungen*, had developed in Germany. The seeds of disagreement about the war aims which had manifested themselves in the first Social Democratic Reichstag speech of the war had developed into a pacifist movement which called general strikes and worked with the Bolshevik Joffe for an immediate peace. Paul Rohrbach, a journalist of the school of *Welt-politik*, attacked the Pan-German League for having corrupted the will to victory of the German people by a misleading insistence that only an annexationist victory would be a victory at all. When the German people concluded that they could not win such a victory, they rejected, said Rohrbach, the possibility of merely holding out. The separate peace in the east was a

<sup>41</sup> Czernin, pp. 251-54; Arthur Dix, *Wirtschaftskrieg und Kriegswirtschaft* (Berlin, 1920), pp. 187-88; Hart, p. 481; Harry R. Rudin, *Armistice 1918* (New Haven, 1944), pp. 12-13.

<sup>42</sup> The Esthonian-Livonian crown, see Ludendorff, *Memories*, II, 661, and Payer, pp. 241-45. The offer of the Finnish crown to a German prince, see Parmelee, *Blockade and Sea Power*, p. 75.

great blow to morale, not because it was annexationist, although this fact divided German public opinion, but because it did not end the war.<sup>43</sup>

Nobody ever really came to decisions about how the German Empire should profit by the great expanses of territory which lay more or less in German power. The Germans brought to the administration of the areas in question an astounding ignorance of the peoples involved and a very high opinion of the favor they were conferring on backward Slavs and Balts.<sup>44</sup> The fact that there were old German traditions of empire, of colonization, of cultural leadership in areas such as the Dual Monarchy, Poland, and the Baltic region, did not insure that the populations of those areas would accept German domination in the twentieth century. Other nationalisms besides the German had grown strong in the nineteenth century, but the Germans acted as if all nationalism but their own was trivial. For instance, the Germans never solved the problem of the Cholm region, now part of the Soviet Ukraine. They had awarded it to the Ukrainian People's Republic in the recognition treaty of February 9; as a result they were besieged by the Polish regency council to change their minds—as was Czernin by the Austrian Poles. A new agreement had to be made with the later puppet government of the Ukraine that the line would be set later, thus slapping at Ukrainian national pride without satisfying Polish claims. How long could the Poles and the Ukrainians be put off and still be useful to Germany?<sup>45</sup>

The ridiculous picture of the German princes running after Baltic crowns while Germany was fighting its last losing battle of the war is sharply drawn in Philipp Scheidemann's *Der Zusammenbruch*. The failure of the Germans to comprehend the forces with which they had to deal is well illustrated by the quarrel over the Lithuanian crown. Erzberger's candidate, the Catholic William of Urach, was actually chosen by the *taryba*: the German government, which still hoped for a Hohenzollern settlement for the whole of the Baltic littoral, regardless of religion—frowned upon the choice. At the same time, the Saxon monarch was put forward as a candidate, with some view to his securing the Polish throne as well. (The Germans could not get away from those historical precedents.) Neither the Lithuanians nor the Poles showed any great interest in this *Angliederung* process, however, especially when German victory began to slip farther and farther off in the

<sup>43</sup> Paul Rohrbach, with Max Hobohm, *Die Alldeutschen*, Chauvinismus und Weltkrieg, II (2d ed., Berlin, 1919), preface, pp. iv–v.

<sup>44</sup> For German ignorance, see *Land Ober Ost*, p. 81, and Ludendorff, *Memories*, I, 188; for German condescension, *ibid.*, II, 661, and Gustav Stresemann's Reichstag speech of Apr. 6, 1916, quoted in Lutz, I, 340.

<sup>45</sup> Czernin, pp. 208–209; *Ursachen*, VIII, 323–25.

summer of 1918. There were democratically minded Letts, too, who, like the Poles and Lithuanians, had learned by 1918 how to play off one group of Germans against another. By now the Baltic Germans were also taking an active part to get their views represented, first by favoring the kaiser as ruler in the April, 1918, decision of the so-called united diet of the Baltic (*Vereinigter Landrat für das Baltikum*), later shifting their interest to Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg, perhaps because he was less involved with the fate of the war. In August the Russian government was forced to sign an annex to the Brest Litovsk agreement yielding all claim to Esthonia and Livonia.<sup>46</sup>

This annex was signed on August 28, 1918. The German government was still pursuing a policy of developing eastern Europe to German advantage, but the military power to back up that policy was on the decline. The "Black Day of the German Army" had occurred on August 8; on consultation with his commanders, the German kaiser had concluded that he must make peace. Few Germans realized that the military power which had made their eastern dreams possible was evaporating so rapidly that the Ukraine, the Caucasus, Poland, and the Baltic area could not be held by Germany. Yet it was only a matter of months before the populations of these countries were disarming the German troops quartered among them, troops on the whole not unwilling to be disarmed, troops who had mutinied in their garrisons almost as soon as they heard of the November revolution in Berlin. The famous *Freikorps* were not a creation of the imperial government of Germany; if they can be called the creation of any government, it was the Republic which sought by their help to retain some of Germany's eastern "settlement lands."<sup>47</sup>

The Greater Germany of 1918 was a mere bubble, a fragile thing albeit constructed from very real military operations. There is an old military expression that says, "You can do anything with a bayonet except sit on it." The earlier stages of German expansion during the war seemed to make headway because to some extent they fitted into a larger, fortunate constellation of circumstance: universal hatred for the tsarist oppressors, the first glow of German promises to the occupied regions, the seemingly temporary character which any occupation at first assumes, the apparent German efficiency, the failure of the tsarist state. A more widespread feeling among the Germans themselves about the justice and the moderation of their claims gave pur-

<sup>46</sup> Claus Grimm, *Jahre deutscher Entscheidung im Baltikum: 1918-1919* (Essen, 1939), pp. 72-79; "Litauen," *Handwörterbuch*, III, 374; Philipp Scheidemann, *Der Zusammenbruch* (Berlin, 1921), pp. 154-56; *Ursachen*, VIII, 344-45.

<sup>47</sup> Dyboski in *Cambridge History of Poland*, II, 479; Grimm, pp. 117-21.

pose and direction to German policy at lower levels, even while it suffered from a plethora of high-level planning of an elaborate character.

By 1918 all this had changed. The Germans did not have enough troops to do everything in the occupied territories which had to be done. They refused to let non-Germans do anything important, distrusting their competence and their good faith. Furthermore they had outworn their welcome in every area where they had been for some time, so that word went ahead to newly occupied territories about their foibles. Their rivals in the east were no longer tsarist officials but nationalist and Bolshevik agitators. Finally, German troops and the home front too had begun to doubt if war for a Greater German was worth what it cost, particularly under the effect of Allied propaganda. The multitude of plans and planners never diminished; if they had got in each other's way before 1918, in that year they virtually canceled each other out. When Germany's western front broke, and with it the will of the German leaders, there was nothing in the German structure which could sustain the young system which supposedly had been fashioned for just such an eventuality. Here and there, especially in the Baltic regions, anti-Bolshevist military units could be formed from German troops, but there was nothing to unite them into a system once more, and the will to use such a system simply did not reappear in Germany until it was too late.<sup>48</sup>

Instead of creating a powerful *Mitteleuropa*, or even an enlarged and protected German Reich, the German expansionists had to participate in the liquidation of the Bismarckian state and the cession of ancient Prussian frontiers. Germany was left neither a world-power position nor a continental empire. The forces which had combined at first to stimulate her into becoming a great trading power and which later had impelled Germany to attempt the creation of an impregnable continental position for herself had been deflected. But they had not been canceled.

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<sup>48</sup> Grimm, pp. 199-218 ff. See also the story of *Oberkommando Grenzschutz Nord* at Kovno, Lithuania, in "Litauen," *Land Ober Ost*, 375.

\* \* \* *Notes and Suggestions* \* \* \*

## Socialist Unions and Socialist Patriotism in Germany, 1914-1918

JOHN L. SNELL

THOUGH the patriotism of the German Social Democratic party (SPD) during the war of 1914-1918 has been well known since the early days of that conflict, there has been little scholarly effort to analyze the causes of the victory of nationalism over international tendencies within the SPD.<sup>1</sup> The patriotic attitude of the Socialist unions has been insufficiently treated as a factor, partly because the relationship of the Free (Socialist) Trade Unions of Germany to the Socialist party was subtle in its complexity. Union officials, seeking utmost legal freedom for organization and economic action, carefully denied that they had any political aims;<sup>2</sup> when on the defensive they might even declare that the unions "had no influence on the political attitude of the Social Democratic party."<sup>3</sup> That such statements were pragmatically motivated is indicated by the fact that union bureaucrats doubled as officials of the SPD. Six of the thirteen members of the wartime General Commission of the Free Unions (their national directors), including Chairman Carl Legien and Vice-Chairman Gustav Bauer, were Socialist deputies in the Reichstag.<sup>4</sup> At least forty-five of the hundred and ten Socialist members of

<sup>1</sup> The most suggestive approaches by American scholars have been: William Machl, "The Triumph of Nationalism in the German Socialist Party on the Eve of the First World War," *Journal of Modern History*, XXIV (1952), 15-41; Harry J. Marks, "The Sources of Reformism in the Social Democratic Party of Germany, 1890-1914," *ibid.*, XI (1939), 334-56; Carlton J. H. Hayes, "The History of German Socialism Reconsidered," *American Historical Review*, XXIII (1917), 62-101; and A. Joseph Berlau, *The German Social Democratic Party, 1914-1921* (New York, 1949), pp. 17-66. Waldemar Zimmermann, ed., *Der Krieg und die deutsche Arbeiterschaft* (Jena, 1915), in 155 evidence-filled pages, demonstrates beyond question the fervent nationalism of the Socialist unions during the first year of the war.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Gewerkschaftskommission, Berlin und Umgegend, 25. *Jahres- und Kasenberichts der Gewerkschaftskommission Berlins und Umgegend und Bericht des Arbeiter-Sekretariats Berlin für das Jahr 1914* (Berlin, 1915), p. 26. (Hereinafter, this and subsequent reports in this series will be cited as Gewerkschaftskommission, Berlin, *Bericht* [year].)

<sup>3</sup> As did Theodor Leipart, then chairman of the Free Unions, at the Munich "Dolchstoß trial" of 1925. He admitted at the same time that the General Commission met with officials of affiliated unions during the war to discuss and take stands on political questions. Martin Gruber *vs.* Paul Nikolaus Cossmann, *Der Dolchstoß Prozess in München, Oktober-November 1925* (Munich, [1925]), p. 229.

<sup>4</sup> Karl Hermann Schumann, Robert Schmidt, Hermann Gottfried Sachse, and Hermann Silberschmidt, Socialist Reichstag deputies, were also members of the General Commission. Generalkommission der Gewerkschaften Deutschlands, *Rechenschaftsbericht der Generalkommission der Gewerkschaften Deutschlands vom 1. Juni 1914 bis 31. Mai 1919* (Berlin, 1919), p. 180.



the wartime Reichstag had climbed into politics up the ladder of union seniority, and nineteen were full-time union officials by profession.<sup>5</sup> In political matters their interests as labor organizers triumphed over revolutionary theories, of which some were avowedly scornful. "True revolutionary results," Legien announced in January, 1915, were "recumbent in the work of organization, not in the threshings of revolutionary phrases";<sup>6</sup> he urged union functionaries to participate more actively in party life, in order to forestall the growth of antiwar radicalism in the SPD.<sup>7</sup> Fully aware of their strength, union leaders regarded the SPD not as a revolutionary movement but as "the agency of the political interests of the trade unions," as Legien stated.<sup>8</sup> The party, in turn, could ill afford to ignore the will of the General Commission, which in 1914 commanded the allegiance of 2,500,000 workers, five sixths of all German unionists.<sup>9</sup>

Union influence upon the party was decisively exercised even before the SPD Reichstag caucus decided on August 3, 1914, to vote for war credits; representatives of the forty-eight Socialist unions had met on the preceding day and decided that war was unavoidable. They considered the Entente nations a threat to all that German labor had gained through years of struggle, and national defense the duty of all, regardless of "religion, class, and party."<sup>10</sup> The fatherland was no longer merely the three-class electoral system, ruthless industrial magnates, and reactionary Junkers; it was also, wrote the vice-chairman of the Construction Workers Union, "social insurance, the *Volksschule*, the sanatorium, the wage agreement—indeed, all that organized labor has created; its unions, its press, its union buildings, its secretariats for legal protection, its libraries—and its growing power and its growing hopes."<sup>11</sup> Far from calling the great general strike which visionaries had hoped would make war impossible, the union directors on August 2 decided to end strikes then in progress.<sup>12</sup> The decisions of the SPD Reichstag caucus, which met

<sup>5</sup> This figure is based upon data presented in Germany, Reichstag, *Reichstags-Handbuch*, 13. *Legislaturperiode* (Berlin, 1912), pp. 196-414.

<sup>6</sup> (Berlin) *Correspondenzblatt der Generalkommission der Gewerkschaften Deutschlands*, XXV (Feb. 6, 1915), 63-64. See also Carl Severing, *Mein Lebensweg* (2 vols., Cologne, 1950), I, 152-55; Gustav Noske, *Erlebtes aus Aufstieg und Niedergang einer Demokratie* (Offenbach-Main, 1947), p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Gewerkschaftskommission, Berlin, *Bericht*, 1915, p. 29.

<sup>8</sup> *Correspondenzblatt*, XXV (Feb. 6, 1915), 62. See also Wilhelm Jannson, ed., *Arbeiterinteressen und Kriegsergebnis: ein Gewerkschaftliches Kriegsbuch* (Berlin, 1915), p. 150.

<sup>9</sup> August Winnig, *Die deutschen Gewerkschaften im Kriege* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1917), p. 8.

<sup>10</sup> Verband der Maler, Lackierer, Anstreicher, Tüncher und Weissbinder Deutschlands, *Jahrbuch*, 1915 (Hamburg, 1916), p. 36; Gewerkschaftskommission, Berlin, *Bericht*, 1914, p. 5.

<sup>11</sup> Winnig, p. 34.

<sup>12</sup> Paul Umbreit, 25. *Jahre deutscher Gewerkschaftsbewegung, 1890-1915: Erinnerungsschrift zum fünfundzwanzigjährigen Jubiläum der Begründung der Gewerkschaften Deutschlands* (Berlin, 1915), p. 141.

the following day, were thus predetermined; with the workers pledged to support the imperial government, their political leaders could hardly do otherwise. During the weeks that followed, German workers quietly accepted temporary unemployment, caused by the impact of the war,<sup>13</sup> or went without opposition to the front; by April 30, 1915, forty-two per cent of the prewar members of the Free Unions were in military uniform.<sup>14</sup> Political leaders were soon boasting of the number of iron crosses that had been won by German proletarians.<sup>15</sup>

As hopes of a quick victory faded, union leaders continued to give their corporate and individual support to the German war effort. After the war was over there would be time enough for the resumption of political and union battles, Legien assured union representatives.<sup>16</sup> Labor leaders scrupulously avoided all action which might give offense to the government. When New York unionists in 1915 appealed to Legien to work actively against the war, refusal was rationalized by references to Socialist demands in the Reichstag that hostilities be halted "as soon as the aim of security is attained and our enemies are inclined toward peace."<sup>17</sup> Then, as later, the central organ of the General Commission blamed the enemy for continuation of the conflict.<sup>18</sup>

The General Commission never defined its war objectives in detail, and most union officials were cautious in their personal statements on the subject; public acknowledgment of a desire for annexations was never representative.<sup>19</sup> Otto Hue, Rhenish parliamentarian and editor of the central newspaper of the Miners and Founders Union, for purely economic reasons rejected annexations of new coal and iron regions. He showed statistically that much of Germany's prewar coal and iron production was not for domestic needs but for export, often to the very countries from which the annexationists desired territory; that prewar Germany imported less iron from Belgium and France than from Scandinavia and Spain. Germany's real need, Hue concluded, was for extra-European imports and secure export outlets. Con-

<sup>13</sup> On September 1, 1914, 21.2 per cent of the members of Socialist unions were unemployed. By April 30, 1915, unemployment returned to the normal level of 2.8 per cent. Siegfried Nestriepke, *Die Gewerkschaftsbewegung* (3 vols., 2d ed. Stuttgart, 1922-23), II, 29-30.

<sup>14</sup> Friedrich Thimme and Carl Legien, eds., *Die Arbeiterschaft im neuen Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1915), p. 95.

<sup>15</sup> Eduard David, *Die Sozialdemokratie im Weltkrieg* (Berlin, 1915), pp. 17-18.

<sup>16</sup> *Correspondenzblatt*, XXV (Feb. 6, 1915), 63-64.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Apr. 24, 1915, p. 196.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 18, 1915, pp. 541-44; XXVI (Jan. 1, 1916), 1-4; Dec. 16, 1916, pp. 521-23; XXVII (Jan. 6, 1917), 1-3.

<sup>19</sup> Emil Kloth, "Die negative und positive Friedensformel," (Berlin) *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, XXIII (Mar. 28, 1917), 294-98. Kloth was chairman of the Bookbinders Union.

tinental annexations would only antagonize the nations that controlled both markets and colonial resources.<sup>20</sup> Similar economic aims were expressed by most of the vocal leaders of German labor. They hoped to achieve a peace which would make possible "the reblooming of our German industry";<sup>21</sup> "guarantee long years of peaceful work";<sup>22</sup> and open for German trade "unlimited possibilities for development."<sup>23</sup> Peace should produce an integrated Continental economy which, under German leadership, would maintain freedom of the seas against England.<sup>24</sup> The open door policy "in all colonial territories" and removal of tariffs would secure for Germany products, such as chemicals, which were not available in her own colonies.<sup>25</sup> All these variations on the theme of economic expansion, stated individually by representative labor leaders, were synthesized in a statement which the General Commission officially adopted in 1917.<sup>26</sup> Similar thoughts were elaborately discussed by a number of right-wing Socialist publicists, especially Ludwig Quessel, Max Schippel, and Max Cohen of the *Sozialistische Monatshefte*; Heinrich Cunow, who replaced Karl Kautsky as editor of *Die Neue Zeit* in October, 1917; and "Parvus" (A. L. Helphand), Paul Lensch, and Konrad Haenisch in the journal *Die Glocke*, founded in 1915 to popularize the chauvinistic-Socialist point of view.

To realize their war aims, Socialist labor leaders supported the war effort in diverse ways. Union payments to workers who were made temporarily jobless by the impact of the war alleviated hardships that might otherwise have created early mass disaffection.<sup>27</sup> Through prowar publicity, union leaders did much to maintain worker morale. Labor officials warned that economic disaster, attended by unemployment and destruction of union solidarity, would be the consequence of military defeat;<sup>28</sup> that even the famed German social insurance benefits would be restricted if the Entente

<sup>20</sup> See Hue's statement in Oskar Stillich, *Deutschlands Zukunft bei einem Macht- und bei einem Rechtsfrieden* (Leipzig, 1918), pp. 52-59; Jansson, pp. 49-51.

<sup>21</sup> Heinrich Stühmer, chairman of the Tailors Union, in Jansson, p. 120.

<sup>22</sup> Emil Girbig, chairman of the Glassworkers Union, in *ibid.*, p. 95.

<sup>23</sup> Paul Müller, editor of the central organ of the Seamen's Union, in *ibid.*, p. 148.

<sup>24</sup> Carl Severing, Bielefeld official of the Metal Workers Union, in (Berlin) *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, XXII (Sept. 14, 1916), 937-41.

<sup>25</sup> Heinrich Schneider, editor of the organ of the Fabrication Workers Union, in Jansson, p. 62.

<sup>26</sup> Paul Umbreit, *Sozialpolitische Arbeiterforderungen der deutschen Gewerkschaften: ein sozialpolitisches Arbeiterprogram im Auftrage der Generalkommission der Gewerkschaften Deutschlands* (Berlin, 1918), pp. 67, 108.

<sup>27</sup> By the end of October, 1914, the Free Unions had paid 12,776,940 marks in unemployment benefits, and payments continued high into 1915. Generalkommission, *Rechenschaftsbericht, 1914-1919*, p. 10.

<sup>28</sup> August Winnig, in Jansson, p. 36.

won the war.<sup>29</sup> They frequently contributed patriotic articles to the *Sozialdemokratische Feldpost*, founded in May, 1916, and published by Albert Baumeister for union and party comrades in uniform,<sup>30</sup> and to the *Gewerkschaftliche Frauenzeitung*, founded by the General Commission in January, 1916, for female workers. The journal *Internationale Korrespondenz* was also published by Albert Baumeister, who was secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions under the chairmanship of Legien. The "I.K." was printed by "Alexander Schlicke & Cie.," the publishing house of the Metal Workers Union; the views it expressed were generally those of the more chauvinistic leaders of the trade unions.

Socialist labor's defense of imperial policy in international labor circles was another of its patriotic services. In February, 1917, Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, appealed to Legien to use his influence to secure a moderation of Germany's submarine policy in order to check the drift to war between the United States and Germany; Legien replied that the Entente intention to destroy Germany made intensification of the struggle necessary.<sup>31</sup> Similarly, in a manifesto of March, 1917, sent to the seamen of America, Spain, Holland, and Scandinavia, leaders of the Union of German Seamen defended German resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare against English "sea tyranny."<sup>32</sup> At the International Socialist Congress at Stockholm and at the International Union Congress at Berne in 1917 German union officials defended their support of the German government on the grounds that it was fighting a defensive war; at the same time they criticized western European Socialists for supporting their imperialistic governments.<sup>33</sup> To the end of the war German labor leaders remained scornful of idealistic interpretations of Allied policy.<sup>34</sup>

Support of the war by labor deputies in the German Reichstag was just as definite as was that of union publicists at home and abroad. At least half of the consistently prowar Socialist parliamentarians were men who had careers

<sup>29</sup> Robert Schmidt, in *ibid.* pp. 1-2. Governmental propagandists were quick to echo union advice that the workers should "continue to struggle for freedom against foreign capitalism." See Germany, Kriegspresseamt, *Wirkungen der Kriegsziele unsere Gegner auf die Arbeitslöhne in Deutschland* (Berlin, n.d., but probably 1917), p. 11; Germany, Kriegspresseamt, *Der Krieg des englischen Kapitals gegen die deutsche Arbeiterschaft* (Berlin, n.d., but probably late 1917).

<sup>30</sup> See, for example, (Berlin) *Sozialdemokratische Feldpost*, May 15, 1916; *ibid.*, June 15, 1916 (handbill distributed for the General Commission); and the articles by H. Sachse, *ibid.*, Sept. 15, 1916, and Rudolf Wissell, *ibid.*, Oct. 15, 1916.

<sup>31</sup> The exchanged telegrams are reproduced in the (Leipzig) *Volkszeitung*, Apr. 13, 1917.

<sup>32</sup> *Korrespondenzblatt*, XXVII (Mar. 24, 1917), 127.

<sup>33</sup> (Berlin) *Internationale Korrespondenz*, Oct. 16, 1917.

<sup>34</sup> See, for example, August Winnig, *Die deutsche Arbeiterschaft im vierten Kriegsjahr* (Hamburg, 1918), pp. 15-16.

in the labor movement.<sup>35</sup> The extent of their patriotism and of their influence in the SPD was revealed by their mobilization of union and party support for the Patriotic Auxiliary Service Act of December, 1916.<sup>36</sup> This act legalized the conscription of workers between the ages of seventeen and sixty for service in defense industries, and temporarily placed organized labor under an administrative system which, in practice, proved to be a parody of corporate state theories. Yet, convinced of the necessity of organizing the workers for national defense, Legien and Bauer, the leaders of the Free Unions, assisted in drafting the bill, and declared that it not only brought duties to the workers but that it also secured their rights.<sup>37</sup> Representatives of all the German unions, led by Legien and other officials of the Socialist unions, met in Berlin on December 12 and formally pledged their co-operation in the enforcement of the new law "in order that the plans of our adversaries for the destruction of Germany may fail."<sup>38</sup> In recognition of labor support, the government ruled that union officials were to be exempted from conscription, and named Alexander Schlicke, chairman of the Metal Workers Union, as labor adviser to the Prussian war department, which was to administer the new law.<sup>39</sup> Meanwhile, party spokesmen heartily endorsed labor approval of the Auxiliary Service Act. Friedrich Stampfer, editor of the Berlin *Vorwärts* (central organ of the SPD), hailed the new measure as another milestone on the road to state socialism, and he wrote that the German chancellor, in introducing the bill, "spoke as a true Socialist . . . who had learned with youthful enthusiasm from More's 'Utopia' or Bellamy's 'Looking Backward.'"<sup>40</sup>

Minority Socialists and their relatively few supporters in the unions bitterly denounced the new law,<sup>41</sup> but were themselves scathingly attacked by labor

<sup>35</sup> This statement is based upon biographical data in Germany, Reichstag, *Reichstags-Handbuch* (1912), pp. 196-414.

<sup>36</sup> Germany, Reichsamt des Innern, *Reichs-Gesetzblatt*, 1916, pp. 1333-39.

<sup>37</sup> See Legien's defense of the bill in Germany, Reichstag, *Verhandlungen des Reichstags*, CCCVIII (Dec. 2, 1916), 2286-88. The act was approved by a vote of 235 to nineteen on December 2, 1916, with only the Minority Socialists voting against it. Most of the labor officials in the Reichstag, including the six members of the General Commission, supported the bill. For votes by members see *ibid.*, pp. 2328-30.

<sup>38</sup> Quoted in (Berlin) *Sozialdemokratische Feldpost*, Jan. 1, 1917. Of the conference delegates, 467 represented Socialist labor; 237 represented non-Socialist unions.

<sup>39</sup> Schlicke was selected by the union leaders as their representative on November 22. Generalkommission, *Rechenschaftsbericht*, 1914-1919, p. 57.

<sup>40</sup> Cited in Great Britain, General Staff, *Daily Review of the Foreign Press, Enemy Press Supplement*, Dec. 21, 1916, p. 11. For the benefit of the men at the front Eduard David wrote a lengthy defense of the law. (Berlin) *Sozialdemokratische Feldpost*, Dec. 15, 1916.

<sup>41</sup> (Berlin) *Mitteilungs-Blatt des Verbandes der sozialdemokratischen Wahlvereine Berlins und Umgegend*, Dec. 3, 1916, Feb. 25, and Mar. 11, 1917; Great Britain, *Enemy Press Supplement*, Dec. 21, 1916, p. 11.

leaders, whose opposition to radicalism within the SPD was continuing evidence of their support for the war. In general, intellectuals in the party, not the proletarians, organized the antiwar movement. Only one important labor functionary in the Reichstag joined the original Minority faction; eight of its members were writers, four were editors, and five were lawyers. Hugo Haase, a lawyer, shared leadership of the Minority Socialists with Eduard Bernstein, Karl Kautsky, and Georg Ledebour, all writers. Most labor leaders regarded the left-wing Socialists as impractical and even dangerous idealists. As early as December, 1914, Legien tried unsuccessfully to have the future Spartacist leader, Karl Liebknecht, expelled from the SPD.<sup>42</sup> The General Commission, especially incensed by efforts of the Minority Socialists to win the unionists, denounced those who dared "to carry party strife into the trade union organizations."<sup>43</sup> Those who broke party and union discipline served "neither the labor movement nor the cause of peace," but simply prolonged the war, the General Commission declared in an appeal of July, 1916.<sup>44</sup> When the Minority Socialists in April, 1917, formally seceded from the SPD and organized the Independent Social Democratic party (USPD), the General Commission quickly announced that it recognized only the old party;<sup>45</sup> Majority Socialist editors reciprocated with appeals for union solidarity in support of the SPD.<sup>46</sup> Since no general trade union congress was held during the war,<sup>47</sup> Minority Socialists could only fulminate furiously against "the social-patriotic attitude of the trade union press,"<sup>48</sup> or foment rebellion within the unions. This they did with considerable success in Berlin and Leipzig, but in most other areas incipient revolts were kept under control by union officials.<sup>49</sup> After a period of indecision on the union question, the USPD leaders condemned secession and urged their supporters to remain in their unions in order to win union members to the new party.

<sup>42</sup> Generalkommission, *Rechenschaftsbericht, 1914-1919*, p. 115.

<sup>43</sup> *Correspondenzblatt*, XXV (June 26, 1915), 293-94.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVI (July 29, 1916), 329-30. See also Legien's article in the (Berlin) *Sozialdemokratische Feldpost*, Jan. 1, 1917.

<sup>45</sup> *Correspondenzblatt*, XXVII (Apr. 28, 1917), 169.

<sup>46</sup> Adolf Braun, *Gewerkschaftsstreit und Gewerkschaftskampf: ein ernstes Wort in harter Zeit* (Nuremberg, 1917), pp. 18, 22, 24.

<sup>47</sup> Generalkommission, *Rechenschaftsbericht, 1914-1919*, p. 1.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121, quoting Josef Herzfeld, Minority Socialist Reichstag deputy.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122. See also Philipp Alexander Koller, "Das Massen- und Führer-Problem in den Freien Gewerkschaften," *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, XVII (1920), 94; Paul Lange, *Die Neuorientierung der Gewerkschaften* (Leipzig, 1917) and, by the same author, *Lohnarbeit und Kapital während des Krieges* (Leipzig, 1917), both being Minority Socialist tracts against union leadership. At a national assembly of the Metal Workers Union in June, 1917, the Berlin delegation moved that the union suspend payments to the General Commission. When Legien personally defended his policies the motion failed by a vote of seventy-three to forty-four. Koller, pp. 97-98.



Economic hardship gave rise to much criticism within the unions of SPD and General Commission policies in the winter of 1917-1918; three union officials in the Reichstag in December, 1917, announced their desertion of the SPD contingent in favor of the USPD.<sup>50</sup> Yet, in spite of signs of dissent from its policies, the General Commission continued to oppose radical efforts to incite the workers to strike action. It neither authorized nor recognized mass strikes during the war. The strikes of April, 1917, and especially the political strikes of January, 1918, severely tested the loyalty to the government of the national union officials.<sup>51</sup> Without consulting them, a million workers on January 29, 1918, left their jobs to protest German policy in the peace negotiations at Brest Litovsk and the German attitude toward peace overtures from the West.<sup>52</sup> If union officials refused to lead their "followers," they risked losing them permanently to the radicals. Under these conditions, even staid Majority Socialists were shaken from their unrevolutionary lethargy; their central organ sympathetically presented the demands of the strikers, and was temporarily suspended for its indiscretion.<sup>53</sup> But the General Commission turned its back on the striking workers in a proclamation of strict neutrality.<sup>54</sup> The consequences were immediately felt. The strikers refused to recognize the right of the General Commission to participate in negotiation of a strike settlement; since the government would negotiate only if the General Commission was included, the strike movement collapsed in a wave of arrests.<sup>55</sup> It left in its wake increasing opposition to the policies of the General Commission and shaken confidence in the disciplined loyalty of Germany's industrial masses.<sup>56</sup> Legien himself on February 16 wrote to the former chancellor, Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg, that new domestic disorders were to be expected.<sup>57</sup> But the repressive domestic policy of the government, plus the timely conclusion of the treaties of Brest Litovsk and the beginning of

<sup>50</sup> (Berlin) *Mitteilungs-Blatt*, July 8, Dec. 2, 9, 1917, Jan. 27, 1918.

<sup>51</sup> On the April, 1917, strikes, see Grober *vs.* Cossmann, *Der Dolchstoß Prozess in München*, p. 35. For more information on the strikes of January-February, 1918, see Generalkommission, *Rechenschaftsbericht, 1914-1919*, p. 45; Ernst Drahn and Susanne Leonhard, *Unterirdische Literatur im revolutionären Deutschland während des Weltkrieges* (Berlin, 1920), pp. 92-104; Richard Müller, *Vom Kaiserreich zur Republik* (2 vols., Vienna, 1924-25), I, 101-102; Fritz Ebert, "Zur Streikbewegung," (Stuttgart) *Die Neue Zeit*, XXXVI (Feb. 15, 1918), 457-62; Emil Barth, *Aus der Werkstatt der deutschen Revolution* (Berlin, 1919), pp. 20-23.

<sup>52</sup> John L. Snell, "Wilson's Peace Program and German Socialism, January-March, 1918," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXVIII (1951), 187-214.

<sup>53</sup> (Berlin) *Vorwärts*, Feb. 1, 1918.

<sup>54</sup> *Correspondenzblatt*, XXVIII (Feb. 2, 1918), 41-42.

<sup>55</sup> Nestriepke, *Die Gewerkschaftsbewegung*, II, 36-37.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 83-85.

<sup>57</sup> Th. (Theodor) Leipart, *Carl Legien: ein Gedenkbuch* (Berlin, 1929), pp. 103-104.



the Hindenburg offensive in March, inspired union leaders and their followers to make still further sacrifices for victory.<sup>58</sup>

Statistics summarize better than words the extent to which the Socialist unionists contributed to industrial peace in wartime Germany. In 1915 only 6,511 workdays were lost because of strikes in which Socialist unions officially participated, and in the most troubled year of the war only 152,802 workdays were lost, about one fortieth of the annual prewar total.<sup>59</sup> Officials of the Socialist unions gave small encouragement to striking workers. Whereas in 1913 Berlin Socialist Unions had paid out over a million marks in strike support, in 1915 they paid only 4,062 marks, in 1916, 19,950, and in 1917, 13,736 marks.<sup>60</sup> During the first full year of the conflict 345,394 English workers were involved in strikes; during the same period, 10,739 German Socialist workers left their tools.<sup>61</sup> Simultaneously, there was a marked reduction in litigation before German industrial courts. Before the war, workers instigated about 114,000 cases each year; the total fell to 59,785 cases in 1915, and to a wartime low of 36,801 cases in 1918.<sup>62</sup>

In recognition of the help of organized labor, the German government made a number of wartime concessions in the interest of the unions. Military authorities favored with contracts those firms which negotiated collective agreements with the unions, and they often stipulated minimum wages to be paid for work on defense projects.<sup>63</sup> In 1916 the government lifted restrictions against unions as political associations,<sup>64</sup> and in May, 1918, abrogated Section 153 of the Industrial Code, which had guaranteed protection to "those willing to work."<sup>65</sup> In the past this provision had been used to protect "scabs," thus breaking strikes.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>58</sup> See, for example (Berlin) *Gewerkschaftliche Frauenzeitung*, Mar. 13, 1918. In early spring the General Commission circulated a pamphlet, *Die Gewerkschaften und die politischen Streiker*, which justified governmental repressive action, attacked the USPD for having inspired the strikes, and which was in turn vigorously criticized by the Independent Socialist (Berlin) *Mitteilungsblatt*, Apr. 14, 1918. This journal asserted with some truth, despite obvious exaggeration, that the SPD Executive Committee was "the vassal of the General Commission."

<sup>59</sup> In 1913, not an abnormal prewar year, 5,672,034 workdays were lost as a result of Socialist union strikes. Jack Schiefer, *Geschichte der freien Gewerkschaften* (3d ed., Aachen, 1948), p. 185.

<sup>60</sup> *Gewerkschaftskommission*, Berlin, *Bericht*, 1914, p. 72; *Bericht*, 1915, p. 82; *Bericht*, 1916, p. 76; *Bericht*, 1917, p. 86. The small financial support for wartime strikers was not due to lack of funds. In 1916, when union income reached its lowest point of the war years, the Free Unions received an income of 34,119,609 marks. Generalkommission, *Rechenschaftsbericht*, 1914-1919, p. 8.

<sup>61</sup> Nestriepke, II, 38.

<sup>62</sup> Frieda Wunderlich, *German Labor Courts* (Chapel Hill, 1946), p. 32. The decrease cannot be explained by loss of union membership alone. The Free Unions, with 2,500,000 members in 1914, had 1,369,799 in 1918. Generalkommission, *Rechenschaftsbericht*, 1914-1919, p. 8.

<sup>63</sup> Wunderlich, p. 190.

<sup>64</sup> *Reichs-Gesetzblatt*, 1916, p. 635.

<sup>65</sup> *Reichs-Gesetzblatt*, 1918, p. 423.

<sup>66</sup> In 1912 some 3000 troops were used to break a strike in which 200,000 Ruhr miners participated, military action being based upon Section 153. Severing, *Mein Lebensweg*, I, 191.

Encouraged by these measures, and sincerely convinced of the need for German victory, labor leaders remained true to the government as long as there was a possibility of victory. German workers again became openly restive on a large scale only after General Ludendorff demanded peace, and even then labor functionaries proved to be prudent pacifists and reluctant revolutionaries. Suspicious of President Wilson's Fourteen Points ever since they were announced in January, 1918,<sup>67</sup> laborites were now indisposed to trust the man from whom the General Staff sought peace.<sup>68</sup> After the beginning of the naval mutinies in northern Germany on October 29, the workers and their leaders still seemed appalled by the prospects of winning peace through the seizure of power.<sup>69</sup> The national leaders of Socialist labor neither caused nor wanted the revolutions but sought to give them orderly direction after they were already under way.<sup>70</sup> As late as November 5 Emil Kloth, chairman of the Bookbinders Union, warned that Wilson's League of Nations would accomplish the enthrallment of the German people.<sup>71</sup> An awareness of defeat and a desire to achieve peace as quickly as possible prompted an expedient coalition of war-weary citizens and servicemen to stage the demonstrations which in November, 1918, converted German princes into *émigrés*.

Union officials emerged from the November revolution with greater power in SPD councils than ever before. Whereas 17.3 per cent of the SPD deputies elected in 1912 were union *officials*, 32.7 per cent of the 165 in the Weimar Assembly of 1919 were professional union leaders; while 40.9 per cent of all the deputies of 1912 declared *union experience* as part of their preparedness for parliament, 54.5 per cent of the Weimar Social Democrats had risen through the ranks of the unions.<sup>72</sup> Most union leaders continued to speak and act patriotically throughout the Weimar period; thus, Theodor Leipart, who in 1921 succeeded Legien as chairman of the Free Trade Unions, considered the reparation demands of the Entente an attempt to enslave German labor,<sup>73</sup> and under his direction the unions reacted accordingly. Despite the efforts of the Spartacist-Communists and Independent Socialists

<sup>67</sup> See, for example (Altenburg) *Korrespondent für die Arbeiter und Arbeiterinnen der Hut- und-Füllwaren-Industrie*, Jan. 31, 1918.

<sup>68</sup> *Correspondenzblatt*, XXVIII (Oct. 5, 1918), 367-68; *ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1918, pp. 375-78; *ibid.*, Oct. 19, 1918, pp. 383-84.

<sup>69</sup> "Icarus," *The Wilhelmshaven Revolt: A Chapter of the Revolutionary Movement in the German Navy, 1918-1919* (London, 1944), p. 21.

<sup>70</sup> Severing, I, 224-31.

<sup>71</sup> Emil Kloth, *Einkehr: Betrachtungen eines sozialdemokratischen Gewerkschaftlers über die Politik der deutschen Sozialdemokratie* (Munich, 1920), pp. 124-25.

<sup>72</sup> Data regarding the 1919 deputies are derived from Germany, Bureau des Reichstags, *Handbuch der verfassungsgebenden deutschen Nationalversammlung Weimar 1919* (Berlin, n.d., but probably 1919), pp. 120-293.

<sup>73</sup> Severing, I, 318.

to win the leadership of German labor, the Majority Socialists, after a period of uncertainty from late 1919 through 1922, retained worker loyalty during the rise and fall of the Weimar Republic.<sup>74</sup> This continuation of the alliance between the SPD and the Free Unions insured the further development of a pragmatic polity and continued recession of Marxist radicalism in German Social Democracy. Strongly nationalistic for years, and more inclined toward state socialism than to Marxist theories, German labor would make the transition from the Weimar to the Nazi system with an ease which Socialist leaders found embarrassing and which historians should find a rewarding subject for thorough investigation.<sup>75</sup> The conclusion will likely be that the post-1918 attitudes of Socialist labor toward German and foreign governments, Marxist theory, international socialism, the Communist and Nazi movements, and toward the SPD itself were strongly influenced by precedents established during the First World War.

### *Tulane University*

<sup>74</sup> In 1931 the Communist unions claimed a membership of 35,774; approximately one million workers belonged to the Hirsch-Duncker and Catholic unions; the Socialist unions (General Federation of German Trade Unions, as they were called during the Weimar period) included 4,134,902 wage workers. Wunderlich, pp. 200-201.

<sup>75</sup> See the excellent article by Lewis J. Edinger, "German Social Democracy and Hitler's 'National Revolution' of 1933: A Study in Democratic Leadership," *World Politics*, V (1953), 353; Adolf Sturmthal, *The Tragedy of European Labor* (New York, 1943), pp. 201-207; Evelyn Anderson, *Hammer or Anvil: The Story of the German Working-Class Movement* (London, 1945), pp. 146-51. Hans Rothfels, *The German Opposition to Hitler* (Hinsdale, Ill., 1948), pp. 97-98, estimates that only about three per cent of the pre-1933 membership of the Free Unions joined any type of anti-Nazi organization, however passive, during the Nazi period.

\* \* \* \* *Reviews of Books* \* \* \* \*

## General History

A GUIDE TO THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE: A FIRST GUIDE FOR THE STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE WITH INTRODUCTORY ESSAYS ON SCIENCE AND TRADITION. By *George Sarton*, Editor of *Isis* and *Osiris*, Professor in Harvard University. (Waltham, Mass.: Chronica Botanica Company; New York: Stechert-Hafner. 1952. Pp. xvii, 316. \$7.50.)

THE three essays contained in this volume are based, in part, on lectures given in London, Paris, and other European centers in 1948. Although termed "introductory," these papers sum up much that is essential in Sarton's outlook as expressed over a long and distinguished career. Each essay has its own theme; but since all are interrelated and complementary, the collection is more cohesive than might be anticipated. Professor Sarton writes in his usual spirited manner and the result is rather personal in tone.

The appended bibliography is not intended to be complete but is quite comprehensive and should prove of great service to all those interested in the field. This work alone is a monument to the author's learning and industry, and it might well have been published separately. Yet it has a logical relation to the essays. As the author puts it: "The lectures try to explain that it is worth while to study the history of science . . . ; the bibliography appended to them gives the means of implementing the purpose which they advocate."

The paper on "Ancient and Mediaeval Science" discusses the nature of scientific work in these periods and the conditions under which it was carried on. There are many thought-provoking and at times provocative observations. The Middle Ages are viewed as a period of gestation rather than of sterility, and the experimental method is given primary credit for the birth of modern science which ensued. One wonders, in passing, whether this makes adequate allowance for the role of more extended, simple observations, and also for that of new concepts whose origin cannot always be traced to experimentation as such. Despite the advent of modern science, Sarton notes, the medieval spirit survived in some quarters. He protests, in the manner of nineteenth-century positivism, against the persistence of "scholasticism" (exaggerated confidence in deduction) among philosophers and even within contemporary astro-physics.

The essay on the teaching of the history of science discusses historiography as well as education. Some interesting comparisons are made with parallel developments in the history of religion and of art; and various points are illustrated by the author's long teaching experience at Harvard. The central problem here is the training of the teacher. The latter, Sarton holds, should be "deeply familiar"

with at least one science. He should not be primarily a (general?) historian but rather "a historian of science." But he must be historically and philosophically minded and understand historical methods. Conversely, it is unwise to permit teaching in this area by part-time volunteers from other fields (pp. 60 ff.).

The first paper, "Science and Tradition," comes close to the heart of Sarton's views on the nature and values of science in general, and of the history of science in particular. General historians may have some reservations about certain sweeping observations here; for example, to the statement that "... general history is utterly incomplete if it be not focused upon the development of science" (preface). Other foci have had their advocates. Or, again, some may doubt whether we are indebted to science for the greater part of modern social reform. Granting that the dynamic influence of science on reform has often been overlooked or underestimated, it is hardly clear that, once science had thrown light on social evils, the thought of correcting them became "almost unavoidable" (p. 5). Does not the reaction of society, at this point, also turn upon moral considerations of nonscientific origin? One thinks at once of certain modern societies which cultivate science in juxtaposition to what many of us view as social retrogression.

The author, painfully aware of this phenomenon, would reply that such societies do not pursue true science as he has defined it. In a word, we seem to be dealing here with an ideal of what science ought to be, and which it has realized only at its best. Sarton recognizes that devotion to this ideal may appear to nonscientists as "... simply a personal matter, somewhat like a personal religion ..." (p. 4); but he is convinced that it has a more objective validity than this. For science, he feels, has a certain innate superiority over other approaches to experience. Unlike art, it moves ever forward; and unlike religion, it has no dogmas—only methods. Thus it sets the human spirit fully free for that noblest of adventures—the eternal, cumulative search for truth, come what may!

Measured against this ideal, Sarton finds much that is wanting in the scientists of even our own type of society. The very process of scientific advance has made many of them into mere technicians, administrators, or money-makers. They have departed further and further from their inner "City of God." They lose the larger vistas because they are absorbed in their particular specialties and their particular present: they will not look backward over the inspiring and liberating past. It is the past which alone can give them perspective on their place in the larger scheme of things—in reference both to what science has been and what it now ought to be. Here, then, is the primary function of the history of science: to enable the man of science to rise above the level of the technician to that of the "New Humanist."

This function seems to take precedence, in Sarton's thought, over the contributions which the history of science may make to historiography at large.

Although interested in this latter theme, as may be observed in the claims already noted, he is not so directly concerned about historians as he is about scientists. To all that he says anent the enlightenment of the latter group, the reviewer can only respond with a fervent amen.

*Johns Hopkins University*

RICHARD H. SHRYOCK

PIRACY WAS A BUSINESS. By *Cyrus H. Karraker*. (Rindge, N. H.: Richard R. Smith. 1953. Pp. xi, 244. \$3.00.)

This is a work of compelling excellence—at once a fascinating narrative with wide popular appeal and a striking contribution to economic and social history. The author, professor of history at Bucknell, is well known for two able articles (“The Treasure Expedition of Captain William Phips to the Bahama Banks,” *New England Quarterly*, October, 1932, and “Spanish Treasure, Casual Revenue of the Crown,” *Journal of Modern History*, September, 1933) and an authoritative book (*The Hispaniola Treasure*, Philadelphia, 1934) bearing on the quest for treasure trove in colonial days. His latest monograph is a natural outgrowth of research in that field and admirably complements such earlier studies.

Piracy has, of course, always existed, and was an honored occupation through the ages. But it attained unprecedented proportions among Europeans late in the seventeenth and early in the eighteenth centuries and became the great racket of the day through the venality of officialdom.

Explanation for this situation is to be found in the general demoralization attending protracted warfare, the brutal treatment accorded seamen, the degrading poverty of both artisans and unskilled laborers, the peonage of Newfoundland fisherfolk, and the promotion of sea looting by “respectable” merchants eager to acquire cheap stocks.

St. Mary’s off eastern Madagascar, within easy striking distance of both Moslem and East Indian trade lanes, and New Providence in the Bahamas and Jamaica, astride the Caribbean routes, became famous pirate lairs. Veritable black-flag kingdoms emerged. Thus, Adam Baldridge, a Jamaican murderer who had escaped justice, ruled flamboyantly at St. Mary’s and waxed rich supplying New York traders with booty. Blackbeard, a picturesque but much overrated individual, terrorized the Carolinas. Anne Bonney and Mary Read, two lady corsairs, lent glamour to such sordid enterprise. Greatest of all pirates was Welsh-born Bartholomew Roberts, master of the eastern Caribbean in 1720-1721.

So long as these maritime gangsters enjoyed the support of corrupt officials, all went well. Governor Fletcher of New York entertained Thomas Tew, a Rhode Islander plundering Red Sea ships, as an honored guest. James Brown, a notorious Philadelphia pirate, married the daughter of Lieutenant Governor William Markham of Pennsylvania. Blackbeard shared his loot with Governor

Eden and Secretary Knight of North Carolina. When Samuel Burgess of New York, alternately a fence resorting to St. Mary's for cheap stocks and a black-flagger on his own, was sentenced to death at Old Bailey, the bishops of London and Canterbury mysteriously interceded and gained a full pardon for him.

But outraged public opinion and the zeal of faithful public servants such as Governor Spotswood of Virginia and Judge Trott of South Carolina ultimately proved the racketeers' undoing. Fletcher was removed from office, forty-nine pirates were hanged in South Carolina in a single month and Blackbeard was slain shortly after. The tide had turned by 1725 and seafaring thereafter was reasonably safe.

A thrilling tale, delightfully told.

Ohio State University

LOWELL RAGATZ

LE XVIII<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE. By *Edmond Préclin*, Correspondant de l'Institut, Professeur à l'Université de Besançon, avec la collaboration de *Victor-L. Tapié*, Professeur à la Sorbonne. Première partie: LA FRANCE ET LE MONDE DE 1715 A 1789. Deuxième partie: LES FORCES INTERNATIONALES. [Clio: Introduction aux Etudes historiques, VII, 2, 3.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1952. Pp. viii, 574; 577-996. 1,500 fr. [I], 1,300 fr. [II].)

These two volumes are part of the collection "Clio, an Introduction to Historical Studies." An introduction might be a philosophy, a methodology (like Charles V. Langlois'), or a popular summary. Here it means a starting point for research workers. The facts are epitomized and classified in a way which would be cryptic to the undergraduate. The spirit is rigorously objective: in 996 pages, I could detect but few signs of a bias. "*De cet effort gigantesque, [explorations] la Grande-Bretagne a tiré de magnifiques résultats. . . . La France, moins habile et plus sincère, fit la Révolution*" (p. 592). As the work is not intended to be readable, I should have preferred the even higher condensation of Ploetz-Tillinghast-Langer. Préclin spurns the frivolities of style. As a result, the statements that are not rigidly factual are somewhat conventional in expression. Some passages seem to betray the collaboration of M. de Norpois. Others are not unworthy of *1066 and All That*. Condensation almost inevitably brings distortion. I wonder if the right perspective is preserved in this brief mention of Gibbon: "*Tandis qu'Edw. Gibbon, dans son magistral The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (1776-78), est une relique du rationalisme obscène et athée, l'histoire, avec Hume et W. Robertson, s'attache à la réalité et à l'enchaînement des faits*" (p. 525). And when space is so severely limited, need we be informed that Ganganelli was fond of bowling?

The first volume, *La France et le monde de 1715 à 1789*, is devoted to *national*, i.e. governmental, activities: home affairs, diplomacy, war—a dismal tale. The title is somewhat misleading. France is not made the sole center, al-



though its importance in the period is properly emphasized. And "the world" apart from Europe and its extensions receives but scant treatment: "*les Etats indépendants extra-Européens*" are surveyed in twelve pages.

The second volume is devoted to "*les forces internationales*," an ambiguous term, by which Préclin means what used to be called the history of civilization (cf. the excellent textbooks of Alfred Rambaud): explorations, economic life, religion, art, literature, ideas, society (including interesting paragraphs on cooking and adventurers). This part strikes me as far more original and valuable than the political synopsis.

The chief interest of the work, however, is not found in the text itself but in the notes which follow each chapter. These constitute a reasoned introductory bibliography of the highest value. In each section we are first given the *Sources* (in the case of Ethiopia [p. 613], "*elles ne sont pas accessibles*"); then the *Travaux* or secondary authorities, from mighty general works to monographs; last, and of greatest importance, *Etat actuel des questions*: conflicting theories, points requiring further elucidation. Under Rousseau for instance, the views of Beaulavon, Cassirer, Lamy, Hendel, Giraud, Lanson, Masson, Schinz, Kingsley Martin, Hubert, Wright, Höffding are indicated (but not those of Irving Babbitt).

Naturally, such an epitome of miscellaneous facts is full of gaps. In the development of exoticism, Mrs. Afra Behn is not mentioned; in the rebellion against the Enlightenment, Hamann is left out. Macpherson's *Ossian* is ignored. (Ossian is mentioned as though he were a definite historical character.) The hot-air balloon of the Montgolfiers receives notice; but not the vastly more important hydrogen balloon of Charles. The margins could be covered with question marks. I thought I was the last fossil admirer of Crébillon Père; and among his horrific melodramas I do not remember a *Mahmoud le Gasnévide* (p. 758). But there is no need to tell graduate students and research workers that no handbook can be complete, and none infallible. Préclin has accomplished his enormous, his impossible task remarkably well. The book is neither inspired nor inspiring; like the most delicate and sturdiest instruments, it has its flaws and its "aberrations." But it will serve; and the author had no other desire.

Stanford, California

ALBERT GUÉRARD

LE XVIII<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE: RÉVOLUTION INTELLECTUELLE, TECHNIQUE, ET POLITIQUE (1715-1815). By Roland Mousnier and Ernest Labrousse, with the collaboration of Marc Bouloiseau. [Histoire générale des civilisations, tome V.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1953. Pp. 567. 2,000 fr.)

THE volume under consideration marks the appearance of a new French series on the general history of civilization from antiquity to the present. Accord-

ing to the announced publication plans the remaining volumes of the seven which comprise it are to be published within the next two years.

Roughly three fifths of this work, from the pen of Mousnier, covers the last century of the Old Regime. These pages take up the intellectual and technical revolution in Europe, national and international political and social developments on the Continent, and various happenings and relations in the Americas as well as in Asia and Africa. The other main divisions deal with the Revolutionary and Napoleonic era and are largely the work of Labrousse, with the collaboration in some sections of Marc Bouloiseau. Taking the two main sections together, the work as a whole represents popularization, leavened by original scholarship, at a very high level. It reflects the orderliness, clarity, and logical exposition which earlier French works of "*vulgarisation*" have made so distinctively their own, along with a more contemporary appreciation of the great variety of strivings and deeds that form part of the human epic.

For all the informative nature of Mousnier's learned pages, his limpid writing and his balanced analyses, one turns from them with an odd sensation that something is lacking. All that an inquiring reader would need to orient himself in the revolutionary changes in thought, feeling, and technics is there, carefully marshaled: attitudes of mind and values of the major *philosophes*; the advances in the several branches of human knowledge; the spread and the reception of ideas, methods, and instruments. All that, together with an undercurrent of criticism which would place the author closer to Hazard than Cassirer or Mornet. Yet somehow the challenging and disruptive impact of the revolutions seems blunted; the pragmatic connection between them and their bourgeois carriers and receptacles, while repeatedly affirmed, is submerged; the inner tensions and contradictions, muffled. The exhilaration and high excitement, the generous hopes and the not less benevolent misunderstandings are diffused within the orderliness of a Cartesian examination that pulls apart an organic ensemble to place its elements each into its logically appropriate compartment. That reservation apart, Mousnier's pages admirably present the varied facets of a vast and epochal transformation.

On the level of distribution of space, which of course belongs to the author to determine, one notes with pleasure a long section on Asia and Africa. One is also prompted to ask whether the absence of revolutions, intellectual and technical, in those areas, merits the space it receives, particularly at the expense say of enlightened despotism in Europe, which did have a somewhat closer connection with those changes.

The material with which Labrousse has to deal naturally lends itself more readily to presentation in terms of the Goguelian antithesis of movement versus order which he has adopted. The pages are terse, vibrant, and full of tonality. But the style is no artificial literary trick or device. It is integral with his thinking, consonant with his conception of the great upheaval as the release of irre-

sistible, dynamic forces pounding and rearing away at the old order, destroying, rebuilding, and turning away against themselves, breaking against opposition, stabilized under Napoleon, and surviving, despite the reaction and restoration of 1815, to maintain the irreversible movement of history.

The chapters on the great periods of the twenty-five-year-long maelstrom are gripping, especially in his realistic analysis of the significance of the changes effected. In a general way, one may say that he is of the school of Lefebvre, tempering the latter's interpretation with emphases and conclusions drawn from his own well-known researches. It is in his penetrating treatment of how the Revolution came and when it did, however, that he is at his best; and there he accomplishes the remarkable feat of illuminating with freshness and discrimination the inner springs of a movement that has too often and even by specialists been blurred under broad or confusing generalizations.

The work, viewed in its entirety, is an excellent beginning to a series which, one trusts, will as a whole reflect this volume's broad conceptions of the continuity of human history as well as of the dignity and multifarious range of the human adventure. To a much greater extent than similar French co-operative works of scholarship in the past, it effectively makes an appeal to a broader audience than that customarily reached. For its open and well-leaded type, its use of indented section headings, its final chronological summary, its twenty-odd maps, charts, and diagrams, and its forty-eight full-page black and white plates, excellently diversified in subject matter and strategically distributed over the pages, there can be only praise. The index of proper names, too, calls for attention, but why no topical index? And finally, while the deliberate choice to restrict the "Orientation bibliographique" in the main to French titles is doubtless wise, still one regrets the omission of some virtually standard non-French titles that surely could supplement the few that are given.

*New York University*

LEO GERSHOY

AMERICAN-RUSSIAN RELATIONS, 1781-1947. By *William Appleman Williams*. (New York: Rinehart and Company. 1952. Pp. 367. \$5.00.)

WILLIAM Williams, who is assistant professor of American foreign relations at the University of Oregon, has attempted to trace the relations between the United States and Russia from 1781 to 1947 and, according to the publisher's blurb, he "is the first historian to go back to the beginning of relations between the two countries. . . . Consequently he brings continuity and perspective to his subject." Actually, however, the author has concentrated primarily on the period from 1914 to 1939, rather than giving a full view of the scope that the title indicates. For example, there are but 283 pages of textual material, of which the first 47 cover the period from 1781 to roughly the end of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905; the material for World War I and the Russian Revolution embraces 128 pages or

approximately half the book; the era of 1921-1932 is covered in 54 pages; while the remainder of the 1930's consists of 26 pages. As to the recent period (1939-1947), the author says in a footnote: "To project this study beyond 1939 is a task impossible of execution: manuscript sources of the character and extent that form the basis of the preceding chapters are inaccessible to the independent scholar. For that reason the following pages are in no sense a formal chapter on American-Russian relations after 1940. The essay is designed to be no more than a review of the central features of recent relations between the United States and the Soviet Union" (p. 258). Indeed that essay is little more than a criticism of the theories expressed in George Kennan's "Mr. X" article.

In the earlier period, Mr. Williams rapidly surveys the diplomatic relations between the two nations. He gives considerable attention to the formulation of the Monroe Doctrine which he states "began to take shape in response to Russian—not British—action." On the other hand, he dismisses the purchase of Alaska in a comparatively few lines. The Open Door policy he attributes in large part to the efforts of Brooks Adams. Little attention is paid to the diplomacy of the Russo-Japanese War.

The main portion of the book, dealing with the World War I era, has as one of its heroes Andrew Gumberg, whose "central purpose was, and remained, to help build strong relations between the two nations." But his efforts were thwarted "by the limitations imposed upon him by America. Automatically associated with the extreme left wing, and discriminated against in other ways, Gumberg had been denied the opportunity to make an individual contribution." The second hero was Raymond Robins, who "determined to use his modest fortune to implement the social gospel through trade unionism and political action." Both of these men were active in trying to obtain American support for Russia in 1917 and thereafter. The vacillating policy of Woodrow Wilson defeated their objective.

To the author the world would not be in its current chaos if the United States had aided and backed Russia, rather than Japan, since the opening of the twentieth century. That was a mistake every President made from Roosevelt to Roosevelt. Another mistake was in not realizing the strength of the Bolsheviks after their accession to power. The third prominent mistake was in not recognizing the Soviet sooner. By so doing the United States might have had a strong friend whose backing in Europe and the Far East would have prevented current troubles. Yet Mr. Williams does not even mention, except by very indirect implication, the meeting between F.D.R. and Litvinov in November, 1933, which led to American recognition of the Soviet Union.

The book is decidedly uneven and the infinite detail on numerous relatively unimportant items makes for very heavy reading. Mr. Williams has an inspiring list of sources, and the documentation, unfortunately at the back of the book, is adequate. Yet the reviewer feels that the author has tended to be influenced by the sources which present primarily one side of the picture of American-Russian

relations. The book is not the answer to the need for a survey of relations between the two countries.

*Syracuse University*

O. T. BARCK, JR.

THE DIPLOMATS, 1919-1939. Edited by *Gordon A. Craig* and *Felix Gilbert*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1953. Pp. x, 700. \$9.00.)

THIS is a collection of essays dealing with European diplomacy between the wars, contributed by seventeen historical scholars. As the title indicates, the chapters are cast largely in biographical form with emphasis upon the personality of the diplomatic figures of the period. The book is keyed to their methods and their approach to international problems rather than to an analysis of those problems. But attention is forcibly directed to the political backgrounds of the diplomatic questions which they faced and to institutional developments within the various foreign offices. The result is an illuminating and authoritative commentary upon the conduct of international relations during this critical era.

While the book is not designed as a chronological narrative, the arrangement of the essays provides a continuing interpretative survey of the diplomacy of the period. It is divided into two general sections, the first covering the twenties, the second the thirties. Beginning the former are two chapters on the British and French foreign offices uncomfortably facing the problems of a Europe in collapse; two chapters on proponents of the new order, Undén and Beneš, the one setting the example of peace through self-sacrifice, the other sacrificed by the Powers to the policy of appeasement; four chapters on recuperative diplomatic effort in Germany, Turkey, Italy, and Russia; one chapter on the Department of State and American public opinion.

The second section of the book starts with "fighters for lost causes": Arthur Henderson, Litvinov, and Alexis Léger; there follow three chapters dealing with the beginnings of German aggressive policy, and four on the collapse of European diplomacy and the crumbling of the system attempted in 1919. The volume concludes with two chapters on extra-European reactions, the one on Matsuoka and the Japanese-German alliance, the other on the American ambassadors in London and Paris, Kennedy and Bullitt.

The design of the book is soundly conceived and admirably executed. Despite the number of contributors as well as of subjects, the essential diplomatic aspects of the period have been closely integrated. There is the uneven treatment characteristic of any symposium; but, in view of the disparity of source material available, it is less striking than might have been expected. Wherever unpublished sources are at hand they have been assiduously utilized. Moreover, the editors and the contributors are deserving of warm praise for the undeviating objectivity of tone which is maintained at a high level. This is a notable achieve-

ment, especially in the case of such controversial topics as the reactions of the Weimar Republic to the Versailles treaty negotiations or the personality and purpose of Eduard Beneš.

With so great a variety of subjects and authors involved, no one reader will agree with all the biographical characterizations and historical conclusions. Every chapter raises some controversial issue. One must accept the fact that the British Foreign Office suffered in prestige and influence during the war and the Peace Conference. But insufficient credit is given to Balfour and the Foreign Office for its service in solving the problems of Anglo-American co-operation upon which Allied victory depended; in this connection neither Eric Drummond nor William Wiseman is mentioned. The extraordinary negotiating skill of Beneš in the Paris settlement of Czechoslovak frontiers is inadequately recognized. As the editor admits, there is bound to be disagreement as to the choice made of the diplomats to be studied. But the reviewer believes that the selections are justified. A case in point is the emphasis given to the generally unappreciated Coulondre, who "in a world of bewildered and myopic makers of foreign policy . . . stands out as a determined and clear-headed diplomat."

There is no sound generalization that will sufficiently explain the tragic bankruptcy of diplomacy during the period between the wars. But it is clear that a major factor lay in the distrust of the professional diplomats manifested by the political leaders. The unfortunate results of the disregard of diplomatic techniques and the hit-or-miss utilization of a diplomacy by conference are apparent. A second factor lies in the failure, with rare exceptions, of the traditional diplomatic system, even when permitted to function, to produce professionals of high caliber and intelligent appreciation of the needs of contemporary society. The editors are fully justified in emphasizing the critical nature of this problem as the world faces new crises.

*Chatham, Massachusetts*

CHARLES SEYMOUR

JAN CHRISTIAN SMUTS: A BIOGRAPHY. By *J. C. Smuts*. (New York: William Morrow and Company. 1952. Pp. xiv, 496. \$6.00.)

A BIOGRAPHY by a son of his father instinctively prepares a reviewer for bias. This book has a son's reverence for a great father, but it is not a biased book.

It is common knowledge that a massive and definitive life of Smuts is in preparation. Yet this book is very welcome. It could have been loaded down with family detail, intimate but confusing. It could have insisted that because the son knew his father better than most he could explain him better than most. It is a safe guess that Smuts himself would have approved the quiet and restrained narrative of this book, just as readers who know of the great passions of South African history will admire its very fair and objective passages. Its calm, well-

written sentences are those of a well-balanced and temperate mind. The best of English culture conjoined with the best of Afrikaans is a fine product. To produce this was really the ideal of Smuts's later career. He achieved notable success in his own offspring.

The early recognition by Smuts that the acceptance of defeat by the British in 1902 was the gateway to a new effort through constitutional means to solve South African problems was the key to his career. Here was the greatness of Smuts. Here was that rare gift that makes the exceptional political figure—the ability to read history correctly. During the Boer War he had absolved himself honorably of his duties to his people and his republic. He now recognized that the work to do in South Africa was to step beyond defeat in order to make the effort to bring about co-operation between the European elements in South Africa.

Smuts's great achievements in military affairs, on the international scene, as a philosopher, tend seriously to obscure the central issue of his career after the Boer War. Could he lead the way to a truly united South Africa by healing the breach between Dutch and English? Could he, amongst his own Dutch people, win over the "bitter-enders," like Steyn and de Wet, who opposed surrender in 1902, even though all was so clearly hopeless? Could he persuade South African politics to concentrate on the future rather than the bitter past? Today the answer to these questions is still a secret. That is why this biography, so readable, so fair, has its unwritten chapters and must have a more definitive sequel.

These comments may sound shocking and wrong to those who recognize that native problems outrank all other problems in magnitude and severity, and who therefore insist that the reputation of Smuts must be weighed by the degree of success he achieved in native policy. This was a field in which Smuts was perceptive but neither brilliant nor highly creative. No claims to greatness can be based upon Smuts's native policy, which was essentially temporizing, expedient, and pragmatic. Both the very brief chapter in this book on native affairs, and the limited attention paid to native affairs throughout the entire book, seem to indicate that the author instinctively appreciates that his father placed the relations between English and Dutch before the relations between white and black. It can be argued, of course, that this type of priority caused South Africa to pay a dangerous price in a long generation of expedients and evasions in native policy. But it can be argued with at least equal force that a composition of the differences between Dutch and English was the necessary preliminary to any sort of clearly defined native policy. Whether such a native policy be one of liberal advancement or of *apartheid*, a *sine qua non* is certainly a convinced and firm sympathy between Dutch and English. This after all is still the major theme of South African political life, with the difference that Mr. Malan insists that he needs Dutch and English to stand shoulder to shoulder for a native policy of rigid white domination.

University of Rochester

C. W. DE KIEWIET



## Ancient and Medieval History

ALTERTUMSKUNDE. By *Max Wegner*. [Orbis Academicus: Problemgeschichten der Wissenschaft in Dokumenten und Darstellungen, I,2.] (Freiburg i.Br.: Verlag Karl Alber. 1951. Pp. 335. DM 18.)

IN this volume Professor Wegner surveys the history of classical studies from Petrarch's revolt in the fourteenth century against a barren Scholasticism down through the generation dominated, in his view, by Wilamowitz. He groups the men whom he studies according to the cultural era in which they lived—Renaissance, Baroque, and Classical-Romantic—and endeavors to show the influence of the times on the trends in classical learning. In keeping with the method employed in the "Orbis Academicus" series, this volume consists largely of carefully selected excerpts from the books, papers, addresses, letters, etc., of the most representative figures, to which the author adds the necessary comments and biographical details. Wegner obviously had a German audience in mind when composing this book, for all the excerpts are given in German. To a non-German it is somewhat startling to be confronted with German renderings of the writings of such men as Petrarch and Richard Bentley.

It is a fascinating task to follow the growth of classical studies from the time when the chief concern was the discovery of new manuscripts to the present when a wide variety of fields and disciplines is comprised within the concept *Altertumskunde*. This growth and the changing attitudes are vividly depicted in the quoted excerpts. As examples of interesting but not generally known material the following excerpts may be mentioned: Poggio's excited letter to a friend describing his first expedition to the monastery of St. Gallen to search for manuscripts (pp. 25–28); the speech on the reorganization of university instruction delivered by the twenty-two-year-old Melancthon on becoming professor of classical philology at Wittenberg in 1518 (pp. 51–56); the legal document which, under the influence of Gesner, established at Göttingen in 1737 the first philological seminar (pp. 90–92); the educational ideas of F. A. Wolf (pp. 144–48).

For readers of this journal the most interesting sections of the book probably will be the pages devoted to the historians Niebuhr, Boeckh, Droysen, Mommsen, and Meyer. Droysen's statement "*Der Hellenismus ist die moderne Zeit des Altertums*" (p. 215) has more and more come to be recognized as true. Mommsen's insistence that the historian must be master of the languages relevant to his field (pp. 236–37) more than ever needs to be heeded. For eighteenth-century rationalism Wegner seems to have a feeling akin to horror. Gibbon he dismisses contemptuously as too dispassionate to be susceptible to enthusiasm. Consequently Gibbon was "a stranger in the age of Winckelmann, Herder, and Goethe" (p. 129). The few lines devoted to Gibbon as compared with sixteen pages devoted to Winckelmann emphasize clearly Wegner's point of view. The failure

even to mention the great nineteenth-century liberal historian, George Grote, is inexplicable.

Wegner's book will be of great value to classical students and to students of history from the Renaissance to the present. Unfortunately for the non-German reader, the use of the book is rendered unnecessarily difficult by the author's frequent employment of archaic words and figurative language. More questionable still, at least to admirers of Gibbon's "dispassionateness," is the evident approval of the emotional approach to the classics.

Princeton University

JOHN V. A. FINE

ENGLISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS. Volume II, 1042-1189. Edited by *David C. Douglas*, Fellow of the British Academy, and Professor of History in the University of Bristol and *George W. Greenaway*, Lecturer on Medieval History, University College, Exeter. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1953. Pp. xxiv, 1014. \$17.50.)

THOSE of us interested in English history have long awaited the appearance of the volumes which are to comprise a collection of *English Historical Documents* from 500 to 1914. If the second volume, the first to appear, is any indication of what is yet to come, we shall eventually have at our disposal the most admirable collection of sources on English history that exists. That all the documents for the medieval period are to be in translation increases the value of this collection, particularly for those students interested in English medieval history but unable to use a document in Anglo-Saxon, Latin, or Old French.

The introduction begins with a section on the importance of the period from 1042 to 1189 and dips briefly into English historiography, pointing out the contributions of such scholars as Freeman, Round, Maitland, Vinogradoff, and Stenton. Next comes an evaluation of the principal sources followed by a concise history. Here are treated such subjects as the Conquest, the Anglo-Norman aristocracy and monarchy, the organization of government, the church, and the people both agrarian and urban. Based exclusively on the sources of the volume, this introduction skillfully leads into the sources themselves. A mere glance at the four headings under which the sources are arranged—"Select Chronicles and Narratives," "Government and Administration," "The Church," and "Land and People"—tells one that this is no conventional source book. The whole fabric of one hundred odd years is represented. The usual basic sources which have already appeared in translation are included, but it is the new material presented that makes this work transcend all previous undertakings. There is a complete translation of the three versions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* usefully arranged in three columns, selections from chronicles hitherto untranslated, and an excellent reproduction of the Bayeux Tapestry with a commentary for each scene. There is an

original return made in compliance with the Inquest of Sheriffs (1170), the suit of Maitland's famous Richard "de Anesti" against Mabel "de Francheville," parts of Glanville, the Northamptonshire Geld Roll (1068-1083), and entries from the Pipe Rolls. There are letters of Pope Gregory VII and of Archbishops Lanfranc, Anselm, and Thomas Becket. There are passages from the *Tractatus Eboracenses* and from John of Salisbury's *Papal History*. Not to be neglected are the descriptions of important fiefs and the selections taken from the *Cartae Baronum* (1166). But it is undoubtedly the collection of fascinating documents concerning the dispute of Thomas Becket and Henry II that will most appeal to the reader.

For each of the four parts is a discussion of the primary sources as well as a select bibliography of collections of sources and a critical bibliography of the pertinent modern works. Each source has a brief introduction noting its significance, the text upon which the translation is based, previous translations if any, and works discussing it. Obscure passages in the sources and terms of technical difficulty are well annotated. Nothing has been overlooked, even to appendixes containing tables of chronology, pedigrees of the princely and feudal families, and names and dates of the bishops.

One is almost hesitant to express any criticism, however slight, of this excellent work, but it should be pointed out that not all of us are certain that Domesday Book testifies to an agrarian class of free tenants who had freedom of commendation (p. 75). Although the editors make every attempt to cite all translations, the important collection of *Sources of English Constitutional History* by Stephenson and Marcham has somehow escaped their attention. The statement (p. 232) that the Bayeux Tapestry in its present state "is some 23 feet long" is certainly a misprint and should be corrected. But these points are minuscule; the exacting care of the editors is evident throughout. This volume, a landmark in the field of historical endeavor, is a tribute to the high quality of English scholarship in the last half century.

Harvard University

BRYCE D. LYON

DIE HANSE. By Karl Pagel. (Brunswick: Georg Westermann Verlag. 1952. Pp. 457. DM 24.)

SINCE the appearance of Dietrich Schäfer's *Die Hanse* in 1902, there has been no adequate single-volume history of the Hansa towns. Indeed, Schäfer's book was an interpretation rather than a detailed historical narrative, though a masterwork in its class. In the intervening half century Hanseatic history has made substantial progress, thanks to the "Hansische Geschichtsverein," its *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, and the several series of expertly edited collections of sources which it has published or promoted. Karl Pagel, the author of the book here under review, modestly designates himself as a dilettante, but he is a lifelong

student of Hanseatic history who has visited practically every scene associated with past events in those north German towns. Where clarification was necessary, he has consulted experts with special knowledge of the particular problem. He has eschewed footnote references to authorities used, but has provided a page of selected works by German historians. It was unfortunate that space was not found for L. K. Götz's two volumes on German relations with Russia in the Middle Ages (1916, 1922), P. Simson's monumental history of Danzig (1903-18), or J. R. Becker's three-volume history of Lübeck (1782-1805). However, detailed bibliographical lists, as well as references to limitless material in print and in manuscript, are readily available in many scholarly studies. What is not available elsewhere is a lively and comprehensive history of the Hansa towns in their medieval milieu; for this the interested reader can do no better than to turn to Pagel's informed and admirably written narrative. (An earlier edition, substantially similar to this in text but printed in a cheap and inadequate format, appeared in 1942.) The present volume begins with the dramatic episode of the Peace of Stralsund in 1370, when the Hanseatic League, headed by Lübeck and the nearby Wendic towns, dictated to King Waldemar IV of Denmark a humiliating treaty and thus laid the basis for the remarkably flourishing period described by Daenell as "*die Blütezeit der deutschen Hanse*." The author then proceeds to tell of the rise of Lübeck in the twelfth century and to describe the extension of its commercial activities along the southern and eastern shores of the Baltic Sea during the period of Slavic subjugation and retreat, the Teutonic Order's establishment east of the Vistula (*Ostpreussen*), and the crusading "*Drang nach Osten*" that finally brought the closely related Livonian knights to Reval and the shores of the gulf of Finland. Wisby was founded by Lübeckers as a steppingstone on the route to Novgorod. In the west the Hanseatic commercial network extended to Flemish Bruges and to Dutch Dordrecht, and thence across the Channel to the London *Stalhof*. By the early fifteenth century the Hanseates were firmly established in Bergen, Norway. To lay the basis for so vast an economic realm implied a mastery of business, trading, and sailing techniques if they were "to provide a well-integrated sphere of business extending from Bruges to Novgorod" (p. 188). The Hansa towns were forced by the political milieu in which they found themselves to develop a peculiar type of commercial diplomacy to protect their seaways and their growing markets. In northern and western Germany they were confronted with jealous feudal lords under an empire composed of many and divers petty sovereignties. In the Baltic Sea they faced a Danish dynasty eager to maintain its sovereignty over the narrow Sound and on the tolls collected there for the royal treasury. In the west they had to deal with Flemish towns like Bruges and with Dutch towns ambitious to extend their sea-borne trade into Baltic areas recently opened by the Hanseatic burghers themselves. Across the Channel they had established themselves so firmly and profitably that English merchants were showing increasing impatience with the special privileges enjoyed by the foreigner

within the city of London. In their "*Blütezeit*" the Hansa towns developed their famous league to meet the multifarious problems that beset their merchants. Tradition gives a League membership of seventy-seven, but in practice it consisted only of such towns as were willing to send emissaries to their diets (*Hansetage*) convened to discuss the items on a particular agenda. The number varied with the place of meeting and the extent to which the towns invited felt that their interests were involved.

The cargoes carried in the Hanseatic *Kogge* were many. Flemish cloth, Rhenish wines, "*Kolonialwaren*"—groceries in our day—the salt from Lüneburg, and "Baie" salt from Bourgneuf in France, will serve as examples of produce of western European origin. From Novgorod in Russia and from the ports of Livonia came furs, honey, wax, and the pitch and tar needed for ships and cordage. Without salt for preserving them, and kegs for shipping them, the famous herring from Falsterbo and Skanör in Scania could not have reached the markets of western Europe. When as many as fifty salt ships could enter the harbors of Riga and Reval in a single season, and perhaps even more in Danzig, we have a hint as to the part played by salt in the medieval economy.

That a loose league of towns, with populations ranging from a few thousand to from twenty to twenty-two thousand, protected only by their walls and by the burghers' skill and ingenuity in guarding their own interests, should rise to the point where it could dictate terms of peace to foreign potentates, and then decline almost as rapidly as it rose, constitutes a phenomenon worth serious study. The League arose within the weak political structure of the medieval successor to Charlemagne's empire; but the imperial statesmen were unable or unwilling to incorporate the vigorous and promising commercial force represented by those towns into the imperial structure. Outside of the Germanies strong dynastic states appeared which presently whittled down the special privileges of the Hansa towns and increased those of their own merchants. Thus did the English Tudors, the Oldenburg kings of Denmark-Norway, the Vasas of Sweden, the Russian tsars, as well as the United Provinces of the Netherlands and the kingdom of Poland, take over in part the inheritance developed by the skill and long experience of the German merchants and give it to their subjects and citizens. Among these, the chief competitors were the closely related Dutch who rose to unrivaled success in sea-borne trade in the seventeenth century. While Pagel's book lays major emphasis on the internal operations of the Hansa towns, it stresses their international relations enough to give the historically interested reader the needed orientation. He includes in his broad canvas ships and cargoes, insurance, money and exchange, the life of the people in their homes and workshops as well as on board ship, punishment meted out to evildoers, encouragement extended to the fine arts, the processes of town government, and of all he gives a vivid and authentic picture. (The few anachronisms and minor errors are not serious enough to affect the general validity of the work.) The vividness is enhanced by a series of excellent

reproductions of photographs and old prints. A rich treat is in store for those who can read Pagel's informing and fascinating book.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD

## Modern European History

BEGRIP EN PROBLEEM VAN DE RENAISSANCE: BIJDRAGE TOT DE GESCHIEDENIS VAN HUN ONTSTAAN EN TOT HUN KUNSTHISTORISCHE OMSCHRIJVING. By *Herman Baeyens*. [Université de Louvain, Recueil de Travaux d'Histoire et de Philologie, 3<sup>e</sup> série, fasc. 48.] (Louvain: Bibliothèque de l'Université. 1952. Pp. vii, 489. Fr. 450.)

THIS is the third volume in a series of three devoted almost exclusively to the historiography of the Renaissance. Whereas before the year 1948 no such work had been published, two appeared simultaneously in 1948, as has been indicated before by the present reviewer. In that year, so states Dr. Baeyens (p. 7), his own manuscript was completed, and he wishes that he had seen the illuminating book by W. K. Ferguson at that time. But he had plenty of time to study it before his own was published, remarking that in several respects his treatment surpasses that by his American competitor. He has at any rate produced a much more comprehensive book than Schulte Nordholt. Particularly valuable is his account of the work done by the experts before Burckhardt's monograph appeared, indicating clearly that the latter usually receives more praise than he deserves. Ferguson's unhappy decision to divide nearly all students of the Renaissance into pro-Burckhardt and anti-Burckhardt partisans, emphasized not long ago in a review by Hans Baron, now appears even more drastic than before 1952.

Baeyens mentions twenty-eight German scholars (p. 112) who between 1830 and 1840 made use of the term "Renaissance" in the same manner as was done twenty years later by Michelet and Burckhardt. He indicates correctly that Madame de Stael in 1800 referred to a renaissance of letters in connection with Petrarch's literary labors and that in 1825 at the University of Paris the students were very familiar with the concept of the Renaissance in Italy. Sainte-Beuve in 1828 and Balzac in 1829 were as specific as were Michelet and Burckhardt in 1860, while Augustin Thierry in 1853 wrote these revealing words: "*cette révolution intellectuelle qu'on nomme d'un seul mot, la Renaissance*" (p. 118). Consequently Baeyens suggests that scholars cease writing any longer in the following vein, "what we since Michelet and Burckhardt call the Renaissance."

The author also makes much of the fact that the Italian scholars during the past fifty years have done a great deal to prove the importance of the Italian Renaissance. He tries to rehabilitate G. Voigt, who preceded Burckhardt and was highly regarded by Ph. Monnier. The latter's brilliant work on the Quattro-

cento receives proper eulogy as well. On the other hand, Burckhardt is defended against both J. Huizinga and W. K. Ferguson, who accused him of having accorded too little importance to medieval civilization. Here Baeyens agrees with W. Kaegi at the University of Basel, who has recently indicated that Burckhardt knew the Middle Ages far better than Huizinga and Ferguson realized. Carl Neumann was right in stating that Burckhardt wrote merely a *Versuch*, or an essay (p. 141). His knowledge of pre-Renaissance culture was adequate.

University of Michigan

ALBERT HYMA

THE TRIUMPH OF SCIENCE AND REASON, 1660-1685. By *Frederick L. Nussbaum*, University of Wyoming. [The Rise of Modern Europe.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1953. Pp. xiv, 304. \$5.00.)

THE publication of Professor Nussbaum's *Triumph of Science and Reason* bridges another gap in the painfully slow construction of "The Rise of Modern Europe" series. The appearance within a little more than a year of three other volumes gives encouragement to the hope that a project two decades in the execution is at last nearing completion. At least it is now possible without a break to follow through the series certain phases of European development from the opening of the seventeenth century to the year 1832.

Among the principal criteria laid down for the series by the editor is that each volume present a survey of its period in terms primarily cultural as contrasted to "political-military." In addition, and what is particularly supposed to differentiate this series from previous ones, it is proposed that the traditional study of European history in divisions of national history be abandoned in exchange for an emphasis upon the so-called "larger forces" which have unified European civilization. Professor Nussbaum makes clear his sympathy for these structural purposes in his preface. He is attempting herein to portray Europe as a "culture complex" in which politics represents but a "phase."

In assessing the extent to which Professor Nussbaum fulfills the general objectives of the editor and justifies his personal theses criticism must naturally proceed on two planes. It is well to distinguish those judgments which derive from the framework of principles governing the construction of the series as a whole and those judgments which, though not independent of such a framework, are more peculiarly the property of the author.

To insist upon the stress on those "larger forces" uniting European civilization in place of national history does not guarantee a larger or more liberal interpretation of European development. On the contrary it might be objected, in the light of the volumes which have so far appeared in the series, that the authors have been rather inclined to substitute a restricted interpretation for the more obvious but broader one supported by traditional historiography. The volumes of Profes-



sors Friedrich, Nussbaum, and Wolf, covering the seventeenth century, are evidence of this point. The title of any one of their volumes, *The Age of the Baroque*, *The Triumph of Science and Reason*, or *The Emergence of the Great Powers*, might well be used as a title for the three together or, for that matter, be interchanged. Professor Nussbaum himself indicates the adequacy of the term Baroque as a synthesizing element for his own period. What is more significant is the fact that any of these themes, however proper for the time to which they are assigned, are but attributes or complements of larger phenomena among which none figure more importantly than the "political-military" realities of consolidating state systems and emerging nationalities. The dynamic rhythm and flow of European society has been better documented in political history than in any other medium. When a calculated attempt, however well intended, is made to subordinate this fact in order to stress social and cultural matters some of the sense of continuity in history is inevitably obscured.

It simply is not true, as Professor Nussbaum asserts, taking his cue from editorial policy, that the orientation of European history as a whole "around political activity and conflict" is unjustifiable. Political structures are, generally speaking, the most comprehensible expression of the culture of the people who create them. Though it is quite possible to ignore or subordinate the consideration of political activity and conflict in the study of European history as a whole, this is a procedure somewhat analogous to studying society with an incomplete knowledge of the character of the persons who create and direct it.

The attempt of the author, and other authors in this series, to subordinate political to cultural history is, after all, contrived and artificial. In spite of radical departures from the traditional organization of material, "political-military" history maintains a preponderant place in their studies. In the three volumes covering the seventeenth century approximately 525 pages are devoted to "political-military" history as against 365 to cultural history. The cultural emphasis is, at least on the surface, much more pronounced than in the volumes of the *Cambridge Modern History* where, for the same period, 2100 pages are assigned to political and 250 to cultural history. But the new apportionment of emphasis in the American series does not amount to an abandonment of the traditional approach. Neither have the authors abandoned the division of European history into national histories. Approximately half of Professor Nussbaum's treatment on politics is organized in such national divisions. The same may be said of Professor Wolf's volume; and in Professor Friedrich's the traditional division is employed in perhaps three fourths of his political treatment. The retention of the old-fashioned approach is not disguised by the allocation of two or three states to a single chapter or by the choice of synthetic titles as "Leviathan: The Organization of Power" to head a chapter.

Professor Nussbaum comes nearest to vindicating a synthetic cultural interpretation of politics in his thoughtful sections on France. In the sections dealing

with political developments in other lands, as England and Brandenburg, the synthetic element is so reduced or so infrequently asserted as almost to escape recognition. This observation is not meant as a criticism of the political analysis of the author. The point is that in these sections the writer seems for the most part to have forgotten his thesis and to have adhered to the traditional political approach. Yet, a more neatly distilled and still comprehensive treatment of a complex political period is not, to my knowledge, to be found in any other English work.

The reviewer is not impressed by the contention of Professor Nussbaum, assuming a rational pattern to dominate the domestic level of state-making in this period, that the pattern of international relations in the same period is irrational. Apparently the basis for this contention is emotional in origin. The author is driven to his conclusion by the contrast he sees between a society "prolific in genius, in common sense and in organizing ability" which instead of creating intelligent controls for human relations in general resorts to anarchic wars dictated by "unreflecting greed and limited only by the most obvious barriers." This would seem to confuse the "reasonable" with the "desirable" rather than to identify it with what has always been its source, what is "desired." The gradual replacement of personal, dynastic, and religious with economic, national, and strategic motivations in war and foreign affairs, is certainly another indication of the development of rationalism in seventeenth-century culture. The author points out correctly that the failures of Louis XIV's foreign policy stemmed primarily from his conduct of that policy on an outworn dynastic level. But attributing these failures to Louis' lack of appreciation of the new political order, the emerging state system, is indirect admission of the predominance of rational motivations of state power and aspirations in foreign affairs.

The chapters devoted to intellectual, artistic, religious, and social life reveal keen insight and scholarly authority in relating the heroic achievements of this period to the theme of triumphant science and reason. As might be anticipated the chapter on the evolution of the capitalist economy presents an economic essay not matched in quality in any of the other volumes of the series concerned with the mercantile age. The critical bibliography is well ordered and unusually definitive and, in short, generously fulfills the objective of keeping students, professional scholars, and interested laymen abreast of the most recent periodical and monographic contributions to the field.

In conclusion it may be said that in spite of the limitations imposed by editorial policy Professor Nussbaum has made a substantial contribution to American historiography embodying besides his own thoughtful analyses those set forward in the most recent literature on his subject. In time, I am sure, this work will enjoy a reputation as one of the most solid volumes in "The Rise of Modern Europe" series.

*University of North Carolina*

JAMES E. KING

DIDEROT AND DESCARTES: A STUDY OF SCIENTIFIC NATURALISM IN THE ENLIGHTENMENT. By *Aram Vartanian*. [History of Ideas Series, No. 6.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1953. Pp. vi, 336. \$6.00.)

THE author of this difficult and rewarding historical essay defines an ideology as "an unsystematic grouping of interrelated notions and attitudes, suitable for wide dissemination and the enlisting of public opinion in the pursuit of practical ends" (p. 21). Such was the "scientific naturalism" of his subtitle, an ideology with which Diderot, La Mettrie, d'Holbach and others worked to free scientific inquiry from metaphysical, ethical, and theological interference. How effective they were with respect to public opinion Mr. Vartanian makes no attempt to measure. His concern is not with their influence so much as with their philosophical success. If, as he finds, they helped to liberate modern science, they did so by daring to proclaim the concept of a self-contained, creative nature, and by looking nowhere else for explanations of the cosmos and its organic and inorganic contents. They did so, too, by trying to reconcile rationalism and experimentalism without damaging either.

A comparison of Diderot and Voltaire will illustrate the kind of distinctions which the author contributes to our understanding of the Enlightenment. Voltaire was certainly a defender of free scientific inquiry, but his service to it was different from Diderot's and lacked the qualities which are the subject of this book. Voltaire conceived of nature's laws as fitting a teleological scheme. Like a good Newtonian, he distrusted far-flung hypotheses and wanted scientists to restrict themselves to propositions inferred from phenomena. In general such defenders of empiricism found support in Locke's sensationalist psychology, for if ideas come from experience, ought not scientists to stay as close to experience as possible? Quite another point of view was the scientific naturalism of Diderot and his associates. Like Descartes, whose influence on this aspect of the Enlightenment is the author's main thesis, they had a vision of the unity and simplicity of nature and an urge to try hypotheses which if correct would illuminate the whole and would in any case gather together accumulated data and spur further inquiry. Diderot had a horror of uninspired empiricism. Far from regarding man as a passive receiver shaped by environment, he saw in mankind individuals, determined to be sure, but from within, by their own organizations.

Mr. Vartanian's proof of the persistence of Cartesian influence in the materialism of the Enlightenment is furnished in three extraordinarily long chapters, supplemented by an introductory statement and a conclusion. Without pretending to exhaust the subject of materialist science from 1650 to 1750, he risks exhausting the nonspecialist. So far as this reviewer can judge, the thesis of Cartesian influence is well demonstrated. Certainly the method is sound which to the analysis of a century's essential statements about physics, biology, and scientific method adds the testimony of contemporary popularizers and critics. The weight of material

is no handicap to the author's reasoning; he keeps the lines of development clear. The quotations which make his chapters long clarify fundamental concepts of Diderot's century and make the book a good working tool for further research.

*Swarthmore College*

PAUL H. BEIK

DAS POLITISCHE DENKEN IN FRANKREICH ZUR ZEIT RICHELIEUS.

By *Rudolf von Albertini*. [Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, Heft 1.]

(Marburg: Simons Verlag. 1951. Pp. 220. Cloth DM 22., paper DM 19.60.)

THIS volume, which is a doctoral thesis presented at the University of Zurich, represents a convenient manual of the many and varied aspects of French political thought during the period of Richelieu. Going beyond earlier treatments of the subject which are invariably limited to the ideas of individual great thinkers or to the development of a single category of concepts, Mr. Albertini has successfully shown the richness and complexity of the various levels of the political speculation which accompanied the cardinal's dynamic rule. The author's sources include formal treatises, memoirs, pamphlets, correspondence, and occasional manuscripts, all of which are handled well, although not exhaustively. Furthermore, his view of intellectual history is sound in that he treats ideas as one portion of total historical evolution, all parts of which were closely interrelated. Noting that French political ideas during this age were fundamentally pragmatic rather than speculative, he has shown the close relationship between the major practical problems of Richelieu's policies and the development of relevant ideas in contemporary expressions of thought. And in the process of re-examining the concepts of the more important writers from this point of view, he occasionally presents a notable re-evaluation of the significance which should be ascribed to a given author. An example of this is his denial of Meinecke's assertion that the thought of Gabriel Naudé sets forth the essentials of the new statecraft as developed by Richelieu, a criticism with which this reviewer would agree.

The organization of the volume follows a rigid topical pattern, reflecting the author's concept of the component parts of French political speculation. The first half of the book is devoted to the theory of the French monarchy as this was reflected in ideas concerning divine right, royal sovereignty, fundamental law and institutions, the right of resistance, and the position of the Huguenots. These concepts are examined with care, and an effort is made at the conclusion of the section to draw together the threads of interpretation into a compact picture of prevailing ideas about the French state and government. The remainder of the work deals with the broader topics, France in Europe and reason of state. The elaborate arguments which Richelieu's proponents set forth in his justification are examined, particularly those supporting the French right to secular and national aggrandizement in the face of the Habsburg policy of encirclement which

was masked by pseudo-religious apology. Ultimately, as Mr. Albertini shows in his section on reason of state, it was the argument of supreme necessity which was used to justify the cardinal's policies, foreign and domestic, thus permitting his critics to accuse him of Machiavellianism. The book closes with a statement of certain fundamentals of French thought: the predominant desire of all for order and strong control, the factual and intellectual pressures which were inevitably increasing the area of arbitrary royal power, and the resulting strict delimitation of justifiable personal liberty.

Since the book covers a large variety of complex and difficult topics within brief compass, several criticisms may easily be made. The reader is left with the impression that if Mr. Albertini had presented his concluding chapter first and had built upon it, he would have carried his analysis of seventeenth-century intellectual currents considerably further. Like many manuals, the volume is considerably richer in questions asked than in answers given, an impression which is derived from the superficial handling of many central problems. Furthermore, the organization of the book according to general topics quite obscures the growth of thought during this important transitional age. Occasionally, the complexity of his materials causes the author to resort to very dubious oversimplifications. For example, although Mr. Albertini reiterates that the king's sovereign power was believed to rest ultimately upon a divine basis and to partake of a religious nature, he interprets the main intellectual development of the age—reason of state—as resting upon strictly secular argumentation. Contrary evidence is too omnipresent to be denied. However, in spite of these criticisms, Mr. Albertini's book represents a pioneer work in a neglected portion of intellectual history and is the most complete exposition of its subject available in any language.

*Brown University*

WILLIAM F. CHURCH

DICCIONARIO DE HISTORIA DE ESPAÑA, DESDE SUS ORÍGENES  
HASTA EL FIN DEL REINADO DE ALFONSO XIII. In two volumes.  
(Madrid: Revista de Occidente. 1952. Pp. 1386; 1566. 700 ptas.)

CONTEMPORARY historical scholarship in Spain, liberally subsidized by a nationalist government through the ubiquitous Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, devotes itself chiefly to the classical, medieval, and *Siglo de Oro* periods of peninsular history and to the three centuries of Spanish colonial rule in America. Such naturally enough are the dominant emphases reflected in the thousands of alphabetical entries that make up these nearly three thousand pages of double-columned, closely printed text. Actually, the coverage ranges from prehistoric times to the fall (or, strictly, suspension) of the monarchy in April, 1931, the Second Republic being presumably too controversial, and in any case too unstudied, to warrant inclusion. Fairly full consideration is given pre-Roman

Spain, the Bourbon Enlightenment, and the constitutions, parties, and political struggles of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; but patently it is the epochs of the Visigothic monarchy, Al-Andaluz and the kingdoms of the Reconquest, the Catholic Kings and the House of Austria, and the Spanish Indies, that command major attention.

This is a highly useful and utilizable compilation. Prepared by over three-score Spanish scholars under the direction of Germán Bleiberg, it is no mere gazetteer but a small-scale encyclopedia of persons, places, events, and institutions in Spain's long, crowded history. The articles, varying in length from brief listings to almost short monographs, commonly carry their authors' signatures; and while most simply provide convenient summaries of known facts (including the results of much recent research), others offer new material or attempt fresh assessments of large subjects, such as Spanish feudalism, mercantilism, the army and navy, the Enlightenment in Spain and America, the Constitution of 1812, Catalan regionalism and Primo de Rivera. Limited but informative treatment is given general topics such as archives, paleography and diplomatics, numismatics, or Spanish American historiography; while frequent entries appear on questions of geography, linguistics, literature, and the arts. A thorough cross-referencing system, a classified bibliography of over twenty-five pages, chronological tables and sixteen sketch maps of Spain's historical geography are also included. The bibliography however cannot altogether make up for the omission of almost all bibliographical data in the text, even in major articles.

On specific areas, the many contributions for Roman Spain by García y Bellido and by Vázquez de Parga, Lacarra, Sánchez Belda, and Caro Baroja on the Middle Ages stand out, along with those on Spanish Islam by García Gómez and other Arabists. Aguado Bleye's detailed articles ably cover the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella; and the entries on legal and institutional matters by Valdeavellano and J. M. Font are especially welcome. The modern period, where monographic research is frequently lacking, is relatively well treated but suffers in comparison with the earlier eras. The Spanish church is somewhat unevenly handled, diocesan history, for instance, being unduly neglected, and recent studies by Bataillon and others on Spanish religious heterodoxy have not been sufficiently exploited. No less unfortunate is the failure to provide compact town histories, even if this entailed sacrificing space given to the rather superfluous articles on, say, culture (in general) or religion (in general).

Latin Americanists should note the generous treatment afforded colonial Spanish America, with scores of rubrics on discoverers, conquistadores, and government officials, and on administrative and economic institutions. The Wars of Independence are pursued with notable lack of partisanship; and Miranda, Bolívar, and San Martín come off very well in their respective articles. For nearly every modern Latin-American republic there are good surveys of its background history in the colonial and independence periods, although the neglect of national



evolution in America after 1825 (except for Cuba and Puerto Rico) unduly minimizes Spain's continuing political and cultural relations with her former viceroyalties. Virtually all the Latin-American entries are signed by Ramón Ezquerro or José Tudela.

Of the general value of this long-needed work there can be no real question. If at times certain traditionalist sympathies crop up on still-burning political or religious issues, it must be acknowledged that this occurs but seldom and that the *Diccionario* as a whole admirably maintains a very high level of careful, objective scholarship. Its industrious compilers are to be felicitated upon their production of an extremely helpful reference work to which all students of Hispanic and Latin-American history will henceforth be indebted.

*University of Virginia*

C. J. BISHKO

I DOCUMENTI DIPLOMATICI ITALIANI. Prima Serie: 1861-1870. Volume I (8 gennaio-31 dicembre 1861). Ottava Serie: 1935-1939. Volume XII (23 maggio-11 agosto 1939). (Rome: Ministero degli Affari esteri, Commissione per la pubblicazione dei documenti diplomatici. 1952. Pp. xlvi, 603; lviii, 694.)

DESPITE whatever loss the world may have suffered for the lack of the Italian documents on the origins of the First World War, it was probably worth waiting for the unified editorial enterprise which these volumes introduce. When complete, it will occupy an estimated one hundred volumes, in nine series, covering the period from 1861 to 1943.

The editorial policy, set forth in the preface to the first volume of the First Series (edited by Walter Maturi), is to publish each selected document in its entirety, and to select the essential documents on (1) general policy, and (2) particular problems when they influenced the general direction of policy (e.g., Egypt in 1881-1882), but not when they were merely episodes (e.g., the *Laurion* dispute with Greece, although at the time—1872—it was the subject of a large Green Book). The commission promises that completeness will be what will give their collection its "distinctive character," which will "differentiate it profoundly from all the others," and which may be explained by the conviction of the editors that there is no contradiction between the fulfillment of the highest civic duty and the observation of a strict and objective historical method. Their task, "exclusively historical and not political," will not be to supply the materials for answering questions of war guilt. A special distinction of this Italian collection—illustrated by the exploitation of the papers of Baron Ricasoli in the first volume—will be the use of private as well as state archives. (Cf. Federico Chabod [the editor of the Second Series, 1870-1896], *Storia della politica estera italiana dal 1870 al 1896*, I: *Le Premesse* [Bari, 1951], p. v.)

The documents are published in chronological order, like the *Documents*



*diplomatiques français*, whereas the German and English are arranged according to topic. The examination of a particular subject is nevertheless facilitated, as in the French case, by a *tavola metodica* (by country or region, and by important problems), and there is likewise an index of persons at the end of each volume.

Between 1860 and 1939 there was a great expansion in the scope, as well as in the volume, of Italian diplomatic activity, but, so far as the United States is concerned, it produced only eleven references in the second volume under review, as compared with one in the first. This latter (Document No. 72) is the confidential report of the Italian minister in Washington to Cavour, explaining that the delay in Seward's official recognition of the new title of the king of Italy could be explained by the arrival of the news of the fall of Fort Sumter.

A major theme running through Volume XII (Eighth Series, edited by Mario Toscano) is the competition between the prospects of an Anglo-Franco-Soviet and of a German-Soviet pact. The Italians were aware from the beginning of the progress toward the latter: Attolico in Berlin and Rosso in Moscow sent detailed reports of the conversations conducted by their German colleagues, which will be of interest to students of the German documents. At first the Italians tried to prevent the Germans from entering into political discussions with the Russians, but, especially after the receipt of Ciano's instructions of June 23, Rosso conceived it to be his role to persuade the Soviet foreign office that the Germans were sincere. Nevertheless there is a continuity in Italian policy, as is illustrated by their proposal at the end of July of a conference of the Munich powers (though with the significant additions of Poland and Spain) to settle the Danzig problem.

The explanation of Germany's refusal may afford a sample of what the Italian documents have to offer. Ribbentrop, Attolico wrote on July 26 (No. 687), thought that Germany was in "a situation which prevented her from doing anything susceptible of being interpreted as concession or weakness," without being "lost." Furthermore, since the Poles had responded to Hitler's friendly December offer of a compromise solution of the Corridor problem by mobilizing, it was now psychologically very difficult for him to contemplate sitting down at the same table with them without appearing to admit that their "insane" reaction had been in some sense justified. Besides, "Hitler disdains sitting down at the same table with others as an equal. This was apparently a torment for him at Munich."

However, barring resort to force, some *modus vivendi* would have to be achieved by a renewal of contact with the western powers. The Italian idea of another conference therefore remained sound, though, "like all sane and correct ideas, this one must also perhaps be allowed time to mature. Germany—whose leaders all live more or less in a state of unreality—has certainly been miles away from it, but the Duce's proposal will recall her to reality."

Only six days later (August 1, No. 743), Attolico was much less sanguine. Hitler wanted a Brenner meeting with Mussolini because he had something important to impart to him. "What this can be it is not difficult, in the circum-

stances, to guess: Germany does not exclude the possibility of war in the *immediate future*."

Ribbentrop, who "sees nothing except what his heart desires," and who "affects an Olympian calm and imperturbability which offer a strange contrast to the continual tension under which he constantly lives in reality" (No. 687), was guilty of "error" and "illusion" in holding out to the Führer the hope of isolating Poland, and of keeping England neutral by that personal propaganda campaign of his (which seemed so ridiculous to the Italian observer). Even if a general war should break out, Ribbentrop was confident of Germany's ability to win, and he "speaks with the greatest indifference of a war lasting ten years." This meant, though, that he was "not quite taking into account the interests of others and particularly of his own allies" (No. 743).

Hitler's suggestion that the Brenner meeting might be delayed was perhaps a sign that he had in fact been "recalled to reality" by the Duce's suggestion of a conference, though this indicated such a divergence between Italian and German thinking as to have caused "amazement and surprise." The Brenner meeting should in any case be held, to give opportunity for Mussolini to exert his undoubted influence over Hitler before the latter had reached a fatal decision. Such was the scope of Italy's contribution to the preservation of peace in (western) Europe.

*University of California*

GORDON GRIFFITHS

THE EARLIER TUDORS, 1485-1558. By J. D. Mackie, Professor of Scottish History and Literature in the University of Glasgow. [Oxford History of England, Volume VII.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1952. Pp. xxi, 699. \$7.00.)

PROFESSOR Mackie's long-awaited work on the earlier Tudors is a notable addition to the "Oxford History of England" series which is now approaching completion. The book under review is one of the best in the series and certainly may be regarded as the most satisfactory single-volume treatment of the important period with which it deals.

The author is principally interested in the political narrative of the early Tudor period and here he is eminently successful in dealing easily and impressively with a complex and large body of materials. He has placed us all in his debt by the synthesis he effects of the monographic literature of the past thirty years and by his mastery of the whole body of secondary sources. At the same time, it is evident that Professor Mackie is thoroughly conversant with the sources and he has used them in an extraordinarily effective fashion. Thus, whenever possible, a convenient and significant source is used to clinch a point of argument or to illuminate a topic under discussion. There is considerable artistry in the author's

method and there is an impressive maturity in his handling of his materials.

The chapters dealing with Henry VII and Edward VI are outstanding in their thoroughness, the felicitous use of sources, and in the fresh and vigorous interpretation given to reigns already well treated by earlier and great historians. The discussion of the reign of Henry VIII is more pedestrian and seems to this reviewer less well done than the treatments of Fisher and Pollard. This is especially true in the discussion of the Reformation, which is too much regarded as an aspect of politics and which seems at times somewhat constrained and uncertain. Nor are the proportions always well considered, as for example the very slight treatment given to the dissolution of the monasteries within a chapter actually bearing the title, "The Fall of the Monasteries."

This criticism may be expanded by the comment that the whole of the religious, intellectual, economic, and social history of the period is dealt with in a somewhat sketchy and occasionally unsatisfactory manner that compares unfavorably with the masterly discussion of the political history of the era. It may well be that Professor Mackie was attempting to do too much within the limited compass of a single volume.

The author's work is well organized, lucidly written, and thoughtfully composed. His style is refreshing and vigorous, his humor dry and engaging, and his temper possesses that quality of moderation so needed by all historians and so essential for the historian of this great and controversial period.

Radcliffe College-Harvard University

W. K. JORDAN

TUDOR PRELATES AND POLITICS, 1536-1558. By *Lacey Baldwin Smith*. [Princeton Studies in History, Volume VIII.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1953. Pp. viii, 333. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR Smith's *Tudor Prelates and Politics* is a book with a thesis: he believes that during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary, the conservative episcopal appointees of the years following the establishment of the royal supremacy found themselves in positions of civil power but of increasing doctrinal incompatibility, chiefly because they saw in the new doctrinal changes the danger of civil and social disorder. There is a good deal of evidence to recommend this point of view, and Professor Smith has presented it persuasively if perhaps too exclusively. He sees in Stephen Gardiner's career the dilemma of the faithful public servant drawn into a situation in which his sense of duty to the state is gravely disrupted by the conviction that official policy is no longer his own. Schooled in the law and respect for tradition, men of the mind of Gardiner were disposed to surrender personal conviction to political prudence. Professor Smith is disinclined to charge them with time-serving, nor does he seem to have considered E. A. Whitney's suggestion of Erastianism (*Huntington Library Quarterly*, II [1939], 373-98). In his opinion, the death of Cromwell for the conservatives "signaled a change of opinion" which had developed through the previous decade from an attitude of

approval of reform to "alarm" over its "revolutionary implications . . . and the social consequences of religious meddling" (p. 145). One may accept the evidence of such concern without granting it monopoly, or, for that matter, limiting it to the conservative bishops. No one in Tudor England expressed less than abhorrence of the Anabaptist uprisings in Germany. Indeed, the moderate position had a much wider acceptance than the author seems willing to admit. The compromise on an adiaphoristic basis, which constituted the basis of the *via media*, may at the time of its inception have satisfied no one (p. 198), but its most surprising quality, especially if one underestimates the English propensity to legalisms, is its success.

Professor Smith finds explanation for this disposition of the conservative bishops in their education in the civil law. One important result of his investigations is the revelation of a marked preponderance among the conservative appointees of Henry of those trained in the civil law, in comparison with the reformers, whose training was just as markedly in divinity. The civil law, he infers, has induced respect for tradition. The importance of these educational differences in assessing the later conduct of the conservative and reforming bishops is apparent, but there are those who will not be satisfied with the author's inferences. Far from being associated with tradition in English politics, the civil law with its *quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem* was under Henry VIII the characteristic instrument of reform. The common law was traditional in England, the civil law an unsuccessful interloper. It will be remembered that Reginald Pole's advocacy of the civil law occurred well before his break with Henry, and Thomas Cromwell was well aware of its explosive character when he asked the outstanding civilian of his day, Stephen Gardiner, not without malice in the presence of Henry, "Is not that that pleaseth the king, the law?" and thus forced the embarrassed conservative into the admission that the civil law was "a new manner of policy" which he would never advise the king to adopt.

The association of both conservative and reformer with the civil law deserves further study, not merely in terms of the civilian-trained bishop but in the more general picture originally set forth by Maitland and given historical extension by Holdsworth, of the influence of the civil law in Tudor politics during the decade when reception seemed a possibility. To that general picture, the present study is a significant contribution.

*University of Maryland*

W. GORDON ZEEVELD

JAMES STEWART, EARL OF MORAY: A POLITICAL STUDY OF THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND. By *Maurice Lee, Jr.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1953. Pp. x, 320. \$4.00.)

In producing this scholarly account of the career of Mary Queen of Scots's bastard brother, Mr. Lee has illuminated a neglected area in the history of the

Scottish Reformation. Historians have tended to be preoccupied with the impulsive and romantic Mary, or with the zealous and uncompromising Knox, or with Elizabeth, weighing and balancing her course against the standard of political expediency. But here the Scottish Calvinist nobility has its day in court.

The leader of that force was James Stewart, earl of Moray. Prior of St. Andrews at the age of seven, he fell, while in his teens, under the influence of Knox, and stood forth until his death a sincere, though generally speaking a moderate, Protestant. By 1559 it was reported that the Guises regarded him as one of three Scotsmen who would have to be exterminated if Protestantism was to be crushed beyond the Tweed. But Moray, though he died young, had yet another decade in which to act. He not only survived the regency of Mary of Guise but served as a key man on the committee which ruled Scotland following her abdication. With his sister back in Scotland as Queen Regnant, his political fortunes oscillated from a position of "highest credit" at Holyrood to outlawry and exile in England. When, in turn, Mary Stuart surrendered the crown, Moray was called upon to serve as regent, though the hand of an assassin made his tenure brief.

"To the day of his death," writes Mr. Lee, "Lord James's two fixed principles were the dominance of Protestantism at home and friendship with England abroad." He agrees with Hume Brown that, as between Moray and Knox, it was the former "who indubitably did the most to ensure the success of the Scottish Reformation." Though Knox gave Calvinistic form to this religious revolution, it could not have been successful without the leadership of the converted aristocrats. In Moray, Knox found a man whose religiosity appealed to the zealot and whose political and military capacity served him in good stead in dealing with the more worldly minded. As for friendship with England, it was of secondary but vital importance: through Anglo-Scottish accord Protestantism could be safeguarded. In more general terms the author points to the importance of a Protestant Scotland for Elizabethan England and for the Continent as well, arguing that had Elizabeth been forced to reckon with a hostile Catholic neighbor on the north, she would probably not have intervened in the struggles of the Dutch and French Calvinists.

Moray's character and career have been subjected to various estimates, ranging from the acclaim of Froude to the sharp attacks of Skelton. The present biographer, while admitting that Moray's "political behavior was not always honest or moral," notes that his lapses were not merely the result of personal ambition and concurs with those who have called him "the Good Regent." It cannot be said that Moray's personality emerges very sharply in these pages. But the complex political milieu in which he moved, and his contributions to it, are handled with skill and discernment, and, though the treatment is detailed, the book affords a good narrative.

*University of Wisconsin*

WILLIAM L. SACHSE

KING GEORGE III AND THE POLITICIANS. The Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford, 1951-2. By *Richard Pares*, Professor of History in the University of Edinburgh. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1953. Pp. 214. \$6.00.)

THE six lectures in this excellent book deal with the development of political practices in Great Britain from about 1740 to about 1830. Professor Pares examines in detail the actions of the king as political leader, the formation and working of ministries, the usages of cabinet government, the nature of party, and—with the lesser emphasis appropriate to the subject in this period—the political significance of public opinion. George III and the leading politicians with whom he did business hold the center of the stage. The scenes in which they appear present the everyday routine of appointments to office, promises, deals, the maneuvering for support; in short, the minutiae of practical politics, of politics all the more practical because, as the author tells us, “politics consisted almost entirely of executive government.”

British politics in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is the field of study of many contemporary historians, notably Sir Lewis Namier, Professor Barnes, and Professor Butterfield; and thanks to their work of research and interpretation a new story has gradually taken shape. George III and the politicians, no longer treated in what the author calls the “crudely dramatic style” of nineteenth-century history, have become ordinary political workingmen, to be judged by the standards of their own times and not to be condemned because Charles James Fox or some other contemporary of theirs happened to speak the language of the nineteenth century. Professor Pares, using freely the work of his predecessors but always deft in his own reading of the sources, offers a summation of the new story, at least of that part of it which relates to the development of political practices.

The first virtue of this book is its vigorous presentation of the new story, which is here digested, rearranged, and interpreted in such a way as to present one central portion of the history of the time within the space of two hundred pages. The second virtue is the attention given to the problems of practical politics and the slight respect shown for what may be called constitutional heroics. British politicians, as we see them in this book, are still trying to translate into working political procedures the issues so easily disposed of in words about a century earlier, by the Bill of Rights.

Concern for political practice rather than for the utterance of political ideas or the drama of great events is a feature of the recent study of British history. Among the works in this manner, this series of lectures is, perhaps, the most brilliant example.

*Cornell University*

F. G. MARCHAM

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SIR EDWIN CHADWICK. By *S. E. Finer*, Professor of Political Institutions at the University College of North Staffordshire. (London: Methuen and Company; New York: British Book Centre. 1952. Pp. x, 555. \$9.00.)

PROFESSOR Finer's exhaustive study reveals a Chadwick not strikingly different from the familiar stereotype—the incredibly industrious, obstinate, juiceless civil servant who embodied most of the more estimable virtues save a sympathetic understanding of his fellow human beings and a sense of humor. But it validates the conventional picture in an impressive fashion and, in so doing, it establishes the inflexible Lancashireman as a noteworthy figure among the makers of modern England.

Chadwick's career illustrates some of the ambiguities in the Benthamite-Ricardian social philosophy. By his master Jeremy, he was confirmed in his instinctive contempt for tradition, his hankering for the drastic reform of institutions, and his belief in the law as a preventive agency, an instrument for reconciling public and private interests. The French penal codes and the neatly articulated French administrative system demonstrated what could be done by reformers dedicated to rational principles of government. But what limits would a Utilitarian state set for itself? Chadwick, half-unconsciously, sought to bring the contradictory elements in the Benthamite tradition into working agreement. As a lawyer, Bentham knew that natural harmony was incomplete, and he held it to be the duty of statesmen to effect some kind of reconciliation between public and private interests. The disciples of Ricardo, on the other hand, seemed to imply the contrary. Chadwick, also a lawyer, would draw on both currents and would employ Benthamite means to gain a Ricardian end—that is, an efficient Utilitarian administration would be the means of enforcing competition and ensuring the free play of self-interest. As the champion of this systematized individualism, he worthily served the interests of the industrial middle classes.

Chadwick is recalled chiefly as an architect of the new Poor Law administration and, more favorably, as a leader in the public health movement. There can be no doubt that the Poor Law of 1834 owed its most distinctive features to his thinking. The immediate aim of its sponsors was to re-establish the free labor market in the agricultural south by segregating pauper labor (workhouse test) and by making pauperism so unattractive that the poor would prefer to stand on their own feet (less eligibility). To Chadwick and Nassau Senior the twin principles of less eligibility—an ingenious adaptation, Finer points out, of Bentham's pleasure-pain formula—and the workhouse test were the keys to the problem, self-acting and sovereign. Even during the depression which engulfed the industrial north in 1841-42, Chadwick was stubbornly insisting that it must be the workhouse or nothing.

From the Chadwick Papers, Professor Finer shows Chadwick to have been



the author of a substantial section of the famous *Report* itself, the section describing the mechanism by which the new principles are to be put into operation: central supervision, larger units of administration, elected boards of guardians, and "that great and seminal idea in English local government, the centrally controlled administrative audit." As designer of this administrative machinery, he naturally looked forward to a commissioner's post, but the best he could do was the secretaryship. That the law was never applied in its rigorous, Chadwickian simplicity is not to be explained merely by the timidity and jealousy of the commissioners. The fact is that the plan, intended to solve a limited problem, proved itself utterly inadequate to meet the needs of the new industrial society.

Historical opinion has tended to damn Chadwick for his part in the Poor Law revolution and to praise him as a crusader for public health. This judgment is sound, on the whole, but a little too sweeping. The decisions of the Poor Law commissioners, good or bad, by no means reflected the views of their secretary, while in his campaign for sanitation he exhibited some of the same defects that handicapped him in other fields. Yet the public health movement is Chadwick's enduring monument, and his various reports, notably the *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population* (1842), are classics of social investigation. But even in his agitation for adequate sanitary arrangements he was acting, with his usual self-confidence, on premises that were partly false. Chadwick regarded public health as an engineering, not a medical, problem. Epidemics were caused by pollution of the atmosphere from decomposed matter rather than by contagion (even after the researches of Pasteur, Koch, and others, he continued to reject the germ theory). Consequently the main emphasis was to be placed on a unified system of drains, sewers, roads, and cleaning services. Though in the provinces the Public Health Act of 1848 scored a series of notable successes, the metropolis, a chaos of autonomous local authorities, was another matter. Here the battle, described by Finer in superb detail, was long and involved. In the end London went its own way, and Chadwick's career as a public health administrator was virtually brought to an end. In that area as elsewhere, the Hammonds' verdict might be modified by Professor Finer but would hardly be dismissed: "A bad beacon, he was an admirable searchlight."

Harvard University

DAVID OWEN

KING GEORGE THE FIFTH: HIS LIFE AND REIGN. By *Harold Nicolson*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1953. Pp. xxiii, 570. \$7.50.)

THE past year has seen the appearance of several important books on the recent history of Great Britain: the concluding volumes of the *History of The Times*, Francis Williams' *Ernest Bevin*, G. M. Young's *Stanley Baldwin* (a disappointing work containing several unaccountable errors). Of them all, Sir

Harold Nicolson's *King George the Fifth* is the most illuminating. His object is "to chronicle King George's public life" (p. v), in contrast to the concern for his private life which was the subject of John Gore's *King George V: A Personal Memoir* (1941). In performing this task, Sir Harold has written a narrative commentary on the political history of the reign in order to show the king's part in events—a part in which his public and private characters are inevitably blended. It is based not only on printed memoirs and on conversations with many of the actors but above all on the king's famous diaries (already drawn upon by Mr. Gore) and the cabinet documents, prime ministers' reports, memorandums, and letters to and from the king's private secretary, in the Royal Archives at Windsor (pp. v–vi). These are extensively quoted, and references to them are given in the notes at the end of the book. Two genealogical tables and an admirable index are provided. The book is sound and solid in every way: a beautiful example of bookmaking by Robert Maclehose and Company of Glasgow.

One's first tribute of gratitude to the book must be for the way in which it heightens one's admiration for George V. To him first of all the British monarchy owes its extraordinary popularity in this century. It was a product of his virtues—consistency, domesticity, industry, patience, adaptability—and of his character as a gentleman, a man of honor and humanity possessed of "a remarkable gift of conciliation" (p. 157), and moved by a real love of his people, the poorest as much as the mightiest (pp. 162, 252, picture on p. 268). His industrial tours united his people at home, his imperial journeyings (1901, 1905, 1908, 1911) united his people overseas by substituting a living prince and king for the symbol of the crown. The concept and practice of a democratic monarchy is of his making. In a quarter of a century which saw five emperors, eight kings, and eighteen minor dynasties disappear (p. 106), he left the British monarchy far stronger than he found it.

This achievement is the real theme of the book. Time and again the king intervened with ministers to compel moderation and fairness, most notably on three occasions during the general strike of 1926 (pp. 418–21). His sanity and common sense were unvarying, whether combating anti-German hysteria and insisting on decent treatment for suffragettes and prisoners of war and enemy aliens or keeping Haig's restiveness in check (p. 305) or smoothing the path of the first Labour government. The king's power is limited by convention, but his influence only by his own character. Much of this we knew already (for instance, from Sir Owen Morshead's admirable life in the *D.N.B.*, 1931–1940); Sir Harold gives us copious documentation from letters and memorandums, always frank and direct. Chiefly these are written by Lord Stamfordham and show vividly the importance of the king's private secretary as an intermediary, and the genius of this little-noticed part of the constitution.

The book's additions to our knowledge are chiefly in the details of the king's thoughts and actions in the main crises which concerned him and which are

fully and carefully recounted: the constitutional crisis of 1910-11, the Ulster crisis (see the king's two long memorandums to Asquith in 1913, pp. 223-29), and the crisis of 1931. The account of the genesis of the Belfast speech of June 22, 1921, is new (and should be supplemented by that in the *History of The Times*, IV, ii, 575-77). The story of Lord Curzon's disappointment over the prime ministership in 1923 is given in Lord Stamfordham's account (pp. 377-78). The appointment of Sir Isaac Isaacs as governor general of Australia is recounted from the documents at Windsor (pp. 478-82). Concerning the crisis of 1931, we are given details of the telegram from J. P. Morgan and Company on the need for economy legislation if a loan for the Bank of England was to be floated successfully (p. 463); we are given Sir Clive Wigram's accounts of MacDonald's interviews with the king on Sunday night and Monday morning, August 23-24 (pp. 464-65), and some more details of the meetings of the cabinet on those two days (pp. 463, 467). On the whole, Sir Harold's account of the crisis is fair and balanced, though it avoids mention of the contributions of the press and of unwise lending policies of the City to the development of it. It should be compared with that given by Hugh Dalton in his recent memoirs (*Call Back Yesterday: Memoirs, 1887-1931* [1953], pp. 266-91) which adds some useful details from the Labour side.

Throughout the book Sir Harold shows admirable fairness of judgment: witness his characterizations of Lloyd George (p. 324) and of A. J. Cook (p. 415), and his account of the general strike, which reminds the reader how much the government was playing with fire (pp. 417, 420). The book is a delight to read; the style concise and unobtrusive. Some will enjoy the sly allusion to the unnamed "Red dean" (p. 511). Others will relish such felicities as the description of Asquith, who "believed in the avoidance of all evitable pain; he allowed sleeping scorpions to lie" (p. 222), and of Baldwin's reliance on instinct: he "would sniff and snuff at problems like an elderly spaniel" (p. 404). All will congratulate Sir Harold on his magnificent accomplishment of a large and most important task.

*University of Chicago*

C. L. MOWAT

WIRTSCHAFTSGESCHICHTE DEUTSCHLANDS. Volume I, VON DER VORZEIT BIS ZUM ENDE DES MITTELALTERS. Volume II, VOM BEGINN DES 16. BIS ZUM ENDE DES 18. JAHRHUNDERTS. By *Heinrich Bechtel*. (Munich: Verlag Georg D. W. Callwey, 1951, 1952. Pp. 424; 420. DM 19 [I], DM 22 [II].)

EVEN to glance at the paper covers of these exquisitely printed and published two volumes, to skim through their wealth of maps and illustrations, starting with firestone weapons of the Neolithic age and coins and pictures of the La Tène

period and covering all types of artistic creations up to the eighteenth century, with a stress on city pictures and city plans, is an esthetic delight. The author of the volumes combines the knowledge of a trained archaeologist with the deep artistic understanding of a medieval German craftsman and the loving care for the "naturally grown" of an eighteenth-century cameralist. Looking at the world from this viewpoint, he cannot help interpreting economic life as the outcome of what he calls economic style ("*Wirtschaftsstil*"). He uses this rather debatable concept in an extremely extensive fashion, and in reference even to periods of which we have no knowledge other than what the spade of the archaeologist has produced.

The author's expert eye for individual developments causes him to discard many moth-eaten concepts which German university students have been taught to take for granted. He successfully punctures Karl Bücher's theory that medieval commerce was mainly self-sufficient, as well as the views of Bücher and von Below that medieval economy developed slowly from a town-economy to the economy of territories ("*Territorialwirtschaft*"). Illustrating his statements with numerous well-drawn maps, he shows the movement of medieval German commerce to have been much more expansive than previously thought. He thus proves, among other things, that the interchange of goods between the more industrialized West and the agrarian Northeast started virtually in the Middle Ages. He correctly analyzes the reasons for the peasant upheavals, culminating in the Peasants' War of 1525 which he attributes, in the first line, to the new expansionism of the German principalities and other sovereign territories. Whoever has looked into the chronicles of a Lorenz Fries (on the peasants' upheaval at Würzburg) and of Thomas Zweifel, the executive secretary ("*Stadtschreiber*") of the city of Rothenburg, can hardly doubt that the peasants' embitterment about the rising development of the individual territories, their new taxation systems, and the evolution of their new bureaucracy topped all their other grievances.

Still, the sympathy which an author of this type inspires, who must be the delight of a visitor privileged to be led by him through the Asamskirche at Munich or through the Deutsches Museum, cannot be allowed to obscure the weakness of his basic concept: the notion of *Wirtschaftsstil* which he uses as being synonymous with *Kulturstil*. While it is incontestable that the goods produced in the economic process reflect the cultural style and the spirit of the nations and of the epochs in question, the mode of production as well as the appropriation of the produced goods by the different social groups have little, if anything, to do with esthetic considerations. The ways and means of agrarian production, the appropriation of the peasants' products by feudal overlords, both temporal and spiritual, the growth of cities and of craftsmanship, and dozens of other basic elements of medieval economic and social life were not restricted to the Reich alone and cannot be explained by the special German *Wirtschaftsstil*. While it is true that the habits of production in turn affect the national style

and taste, the author reverses things when, for instance, he makes the German national character responsible for the fact that the Germans built their houses of wood and refused to construct stone buildings in the Latin style (I, 203 f.). The truth is, of course, that the German forests offered an abundance of wood while the forests of Italy had started to disappear, a basic economic fact which in turn determined the taste of the nations concerned. By the same token, the comparative weakness of the Renaissance in Germany is due much more to the lack of political strength of the German cities and to the importance of feudal elements in the Reich, as compared with Italy, than to the alleged German aversion to the Renaissance "spirit" (II, 32).

On the whole, the author, driven by his wish to present German economic life as an outcome of the specifically German *Wirtschaftsstil*, neglects to compare it sufficiently with foreign economic achievements. Writing his work in the Hitlerian time, he might not have been able to use foreign sources and foreign or "politically suspect" literature to a sufficient extent, to analyze all features of German life properly within their international setting. In his analysis of the term *Hundertschaft* he for instance might have wished to consult the second volume (p. 124 f.) of the *Wirtschaftsgeschichte* of Heinrich Cunow. In some instances, as in his attacks upon the concepts "*Frühkapitalismus*" and "Mercantilism," his procedure leads to *Eigenbrödelei*. While it is true that these concepts fit the retrograde German economic development of the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries less than the evolution in the West, there is no reason why they should be completely discarded. In a few cases the author, through his wish to defend his pet theory, comes to a clearer understanding of realities than other writers on this topic. Max Weber's theory of the importance of Calvinism for the growth of Protestantism is reduced by him (I, 367) to the dimensions of a more modest but more acceptable thesis. But his predilection for his main theory and his failure to give proper attention to the vehement social fights of the periods he pictures make his work somewhat more valuable for the student of art and craftsmanship than for the economist and historian proper.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE W. F. HALLGARTEN

DIE TRAGÖDIE DES DEUTSCHEN LIBERALISMUS. By *Friedrich C. Sell*. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt. 1953. Pp. 478. DM 18.50.)

AMONG the books on history published in Germany since 1945, few will equal in importance and usefulness this new work of a German historian who is now an American citizen and professor of German literature in Mount Holyoke College. It is the first major study produced by a personal contact between two historical traditions. This history of modern Germany from 1789 to 1945 is distinguished not only by an intimate and deeply sympathetic knowledge of the

German mind but also by a critical insight, seldom found among German historians, into the impression which German words and actions produced abroad. For not only German political leaders but scholars and publicists as well have suffered from an unusual imaginative deficiency, a lack of empathy, an inability to understand the viewpoints and the reactions of non-Germans. Dr. Sell's book, written in an accomplished literary style, may be a real help in overcoming the deep differences between the German and the Western moral and intellectual climates, a rift which has been growing since the Napoleonic wars and which reached its long-prepared climax in the 1930's.

Dr. Sell did not intend to write a history text. His book presupposes some knowledge of modern German history; within this limitation, it is the best presentation and interpretation of the period available in German. With great skill, political, cultural, social, and economic trends are integrated; especially gratifying to a historian is the fact that disproportionate space is not given to the last years or decades: 1815 and 1866 receive the same emphasis as 1933.

In the center of the story Dr. Sell places the question, many times asked before: what was the character and development of German liberalism, why did it fail, and why did it not possess the strength to counterbalance elemental morally and physically destructive trends? The lack of moral inhibitions, which a German liberalism could have opposed to the demoniac forces of power-aspirations, led to the European catastrophes of 1871, 1914, and 1933 and to the German defeats of 1918 and 1945.

Dr. Sell uses the word liberalism in a very broad sense. He claims many Germans as liberals who were much more concerned with the power and greatness of Germany than with individual liberty. But the record of German liberalism emerges as a woeful tale: in 1770 when the poets of the Göttinger Dichterbund, the first liberal youth movement, clamored for "the tyrant's blood," they did not think of the many tyrants then abounding in Germany but of Charlemagne, because he and his monks had enslaved the noble Saxon souls. Though they shared, as German liberals, Voltaire's anticlericalism, they deeply despised the Frenchman. "*Die Hain-Bündler dachten an Nationalstolz, wenn sie von Freiheit sprachen.*" One hundred and fifty years later, in the discussion of the constitution of the German republic, Max Weber proposed that the democratic people should elect their president. "*Dann sagt der Gewählte: Nun haltet den Mund und pariert. Parteien dürfen nicht mehr hineinreden. . . . Nachher kann das Volk richten—hat der Führer Fehler gemacht, an den Galgen mit ihm.*"

The treatment of the years 1918–1919 presents probably the best touchstone for any history of twentieth-century Europe. With great moderation and fairness, Dr. Sell has written one of the very best discussions of the complex aspects involved. In many other instances his penetrating comments throw a new light on political and intellectual figures of nineteenth-century Germany. Hegel, Marx, and Nietzsche became representative German thinkers because they personified

in their doctrine the aggressive impatience which Dr. Sell finds at the root of Germany's political failures.

*City College of New York*

HANS KOHN

HISTORY OF THE GERMAN GENERAL STAFF, 1657-1945. By *Walter Görlitz*. Translated by *Brian Battershaw*. Introduction by *Walter Millis*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1953. Pp. xviii, 508. \$7.50.)

THE Prussian General Staff has become the fascinating subject of many a legend. Walter Görlitz has been the first to tell its true story from its chrysalis in the eighteenth century, through its heroic age under the older Moltke and its maturity under Ludendorff, to its sad end under and against Hitler. This American edition of a recent German publication will help to familiarize American students of history with one of the most peculiar German institutions.

There is nothing specially startling in the General Staff becoming the brains of the Prussian army. Other armies, in other countries, had their brains, too. But in Prussia-Germany, the brain finally took over the entire body. When Prussia became a constitutional monarchy, the kings shrewdly marked off the army as an extra-constitutional reservation, inside which they remained virtually absolute rulers. They restricted the minister of war more or less to the position of an administrative chief of supply, since the constitution had made him accountable to parliament. The king exercised his command power with the help of the military cabinet. To assist him in the strategic supervision of the army, the General Staff was co-ordinated with the war ministry, directly under the crown. The General Staff prepared the campaigns and, during the First World War, actually became the high command, thus replacing the Supreme War Lord. When the war was lost, it even expelled him.

It can be argued whether the General Staff reached its zenith during the First World War, when Ludendorff was the virtual dictator of the country, or during the Weimar era when Seeckt made the army an entrenched camp inside the republic. At any rate, the last generation was to witness the most thrilling phase in the entire history of the German General Staff. The army brain, by now the trustee of the nation's political fortunes, interfered whenever these fortunes were running low, sometimes succeeding, sometimes failing. By making alliances with political parties, the General Staff had become the accoucheur, first of the Weimar republic, later of the Hitler dictatorship. Weimar cherished, honored, and obeyed it. Hitler duplicated and split, humiliated and degraded it, until it perished in the holocaust.

Görlitz, a sincere admirer of the virtues of the defunct General Staff, gives unstinted praise to its unique qualities. He draws biographical profiles of the remarkable soldiers who put their imprint on the General Staff, from Scharnhorst and Moltke to Ludendorff and Seeckt. He is understandably inclined to



fight over again the past battles and actions. Defeat at Jena, 1806? The General Staff "can hardly be blamed, since it was crippled from the start." Marne, 1914? The battle "was progressing favorably," Gallieni "had thrown in his last reserve." "One asks what would have happened if Kluck had ignored" orders, as Seydlitz did at Zorndorf. This, of course, is different from the way western historians judge the outcome of the battle. Like so many Germans, Görlitz likes to dream how Germany could have won, if. . .

*Centre College of Kentucky*

CARL E. MISCH

RUSSIA UNDER TWO TSARS, 1682-1689: THE REGENCY OF SOPHIA ALEKSEEVNA. By *C. Bickford O'Brien*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume XLII.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1952. Pp. xii, 178. \$3.50.)

THE author of this doctoral dissertation sets himself the task of correcting the formerly popular view that the period immediately preceding the accession of Peter the Great was one of "ineffective government and military failure" (p. ix). That the reigns of Alexis and Feodor, 1645-1682, witnessed a quickening of interest in cultural and commercial contact with western Europe has long been recognized. But there has been less appreciation of the fact that Russia continued under the regency of Sophia along the lines indicated by her predecessors and moved on quite naturally and without interruption into the reform era of Peter I. Indeed, this view of Sophia's regency as a period when the reform interests of Alexis were carried over through his daughter's regency into the reign of his youngest son adds further proof, if more be needed, that the nation did not oppose Peter's reforms as such so much as the feverish haste in which they were imposed.

The study shows Sophia to have been a woman of unusual perspicacity. During her childhood and youth she developed an abiding appreciation for the Western learning toward which her father's court was oriented. In the reign of her brother, Feodor, she met Prince Vasilii V. Golitsyn, a devotee of Western culture who served through the six years of her regency as Sophia's chief adviser, diplomat, and military commander. During her regency Sophia's success in promoting the westernization of Russia was marred by the opposition of the Streltsii and conservative church leaders which Peter later met and reduced. But in foreign affairs the regency's accomplishments were substantial. The conclusion of a "Treaty of Eternal Peace" with Poland in 1686 made possible Peter's concentration of attention upon the Baltic and Black Sea areas. The signing of the accord "marked the rise of Moscow as the primary Slavic power in Europe in place of Poland" (p. 104). The Treaty of Nerchinsk in 1689 provided for a

political and commercial settlement with China which continued in force into the nineteenth century.

While this study is a competent piece of work, it certainly is not of the high standard set by earlier publications in history of the University of California Press. Compared with similar monographs by Fisher, Lantzeff, Puryear, Mowat, Willis, and others, *Russia under Two Tsars* is a pedestrian job. The publication suffers grievously from the most slovenly example of editing I have ever seen. Indeed, I cannot believe that the editors of the series bothered to read the manuscript. Footnotes contain many glaring errors: the use of *op. cit.* for *loc. cit.* (p. 102, ns. 65, 68, 69, and p. 142, n. 59), the use of *ibid.* to refer not to the immediately preceding title but to an earlier one (p. 107, n. 8, and p. 145, n. 66), and the use of *op. cit.* to refer to a work by an author three of whose publications have been cited (p. 54, n. 42, and p. 59, n. 50). Illogical or incorrect punctuation apparently has been removed from some sections of the book but not from others, as though someone edited portions of the manuscript but tired of the task. Italicization of some Latin phrases but not of others should have been caught by some clerk in the university press if by no one else (pp. 77, 87.) Glaring grammatical errors are not uncommon. "Like most social classes in Russia, the trading population was rather highly subdivided. Each had its special privileges and obligations" (p. 70). To what "each" refers is not clear. In the sentence "the attack then shifted to the left flank against the Cossack regiments, which sustained heavy damage until the artillery again drove them off" (p. 138) the "them" makes no sense. Why "800 troops" (p. 114) but "three hundred guns" (p. 111) is anyone's guess. The bibliography contains a full list of the works consulted, including an out-of-date Russian-English dictionary and Henri See's *Modern Capitalism* which has nothing to contribute to the subject under investigation. Both the author and the press were in too great a hurry to publish the monograph to bother to alphabetize the bibliography. The index is useless, containing only a few entries and those not in alphabetical order.

The pedantic enumeration of names of individuals of no apparent importance and appearing only once (p. 106) should have been avoided if the reader's interest is of any concern to the author. Such absurdities become exasperating when they reach the point of naming the regimental commanders in an army of 112,000 men (p. 137).

The author several times confuses national income with government revenue (pp. 63, 65, 148). The mouths of the Don and Volga rivers are in the southeast part of European Russia, not in the southwest (p. 3). The Treaty of Andrusovo was signed in 1667, not in 1674 (p. 48). I presume that government policy follows objectives, not "objects" (p. 77). Read craftsmanship for "crafts" (p. 82), kotow for "kowtow" (p. 107), Psiel for "Psël" (p. 137), be claimed for "he claimed" (p. 150), Kotoshikhin for "Kotoshkikhin" (p. 155), and Historians of the U.S.S.R. for "Historians of the S.S.S.R." (p. 159).

While no author can escape responsibility for the errors which blight his work, it is regrettable that the editors of this series were so indifferent to their obligation to the young writer as to offer him no help with his first book. The editors must not even have read the author's prefatory acknowledgments, or they might have questioned his expression of appreciation for "aid in preparing [*sic!*] the manuscript" (p. x).

Montana State University

MELVIN C. WREN

IL POPULISMO RUSSO. By *Franco Venturi*. In two volumes. [Biblioteca di cultura storica, 46.] (Turin: Giulio Einaudi. 1952. Pp. xvii, 633; 635-1194. L. 6500.)

THIS is a monumental effort in painstaking research. The nearly twelve hundred tightly printed pages of the two volumes are based on perusal of innumerable books, articles, pamphlets, leaflets, and minutes of judicial proceedings. This study in its breadth and comprehensiveness is without precedent in the literature of the subject in any language, Russian not excluded. Mr. Venturi's standards of scholarly accuracy are high indeed and it may be added that this reviewer did not notice more than a few errors of fact, which turned out to be much too trifling to deserve mention here.

The importance of the subject matter should fully justify the herculean labor that went into the preparation of these volumes. Russian populism, this specific brand of agrarian socialism, deserves close study for a number of reasons. Populism occupied a central place in Russian intellectual history over several crucial decades of the nineteenth century. Its road was illumined by the brilliance of several great figures, among them Herzen, Bakunin, and Chernyshevski, to name only three. It was, over a long period, the dominating creed of that strange and curious group, the Russian intelligentsia, and it came to play, through a series of dramatic actions culminating in the assassination of the emperor Alexander II, a grave role in the political history of the country. Finally, at least in some of its emanations it created elements of thought and norms of conduct which have become deeply ingrained in twentieth-century Bolshevism.

The author's method is simple and straightforward. His main concern has been to present the thought of his heroes and to unfold the story of their actions without indulging in lengthy interpretations. In a sense, the author is right when, in his preface, he expresses the view that the book may be useful primarily as an anthology. Large parts of it are indeed in the nature of an anthology and the rest a straight narrative. But the selection is an excellent one, and it could not have been made had not Mr. Venturi tried hard to interpret for himself the nature of Russian populism.

The very decision to confine the period under study to thirty-three years—

1848-1881—is the product of mature understanding. In a sense, Russian populism may indeed be conceived as a reaction to the revolutions of 1848 which caused men like Herzen—originally a staunch “Westerner”—to develop a vision of social development in Russia based on indigenous Russian institutions, the village commune and the producers’ co-operative. And Mr. Venturi understands equally well that the early eighties marked the end of an epoch in the development of Russian populism, even though he does not make the reasons for it perfectly clear.

And yet one cannot but wish that the author had decided to share his thinking more fully with his readers and by so doing had attempted to make explicit much of what is contained in the book by mere implication and indirection. The point is that, at least to the mind of this reviewer, it is almost impossible to understand Russian populism without reference to the contemporary flow of the country’s history and in particular to the basic condition of its economic and political backwardness. Backwardness, of course, is a relative concept, and however loudly the populists may have proclaimed their divergence from the “rotting West,” the paradigm of Western development always remained before their eyes and forced them to return time and again to the problem of Russia’s position vis-à-vis the West. This is perhaps the crucial dilemma in populist thought. The populists clearly saw the advantages inherent in Russia’s being a late-comer upon the modern historical scene. They saw and stressed the possibility of adopting the results of foreign experience without incurring the heavy cost of experimentation, of errors and detours. Both Herzen and Chernyshevski found very felicitous phrases—duly recorded by Mr. Venturi—to express the essence of this situation. But they did so only in order to abandon the argument by an almost imperceptible twist and to raise the paradoxical claim that the preservation of the *old* rather than the easy adoption of the *new* constituted the “advantages of backwardness.”

The result was a tragic surrender of realism to utopia. Here is perhaps the main reason for the decline of populism. When the rate of industrial growth leapt upward in the middle of the eighties, after the government had committed itself to a policy of rapid industrialization, the divorce between the populist utopia and the economic reality became too great and the movement proved unable to survive the repressions which followed Alexander the Third’s advent to the throne. In this sense, Mr. Venturi’s terminal point, the assassination of Alexander II on March 1, 1881 (Julian calendar), is much too abrupt an end to his story, which obviously called for a further concluding chapter.

Similarly, the political radicalism of the populists finds its explanation in the political backwardness of the country. The existence of an absolutist government was unacceptable to minds whose standards of political normalcy were, despite everything, imported from the West. And on the other hand, both the absence of constitutional government and the late start of economic development effec-

tively barred the Russian intelligentsia from normal professional pursuits. What was, for decades, left to them (even though left to an astonishing degree by the standards of modern dictatorships) was the field of pure thought uninhibited and untempered by exigencies of normal practical action. As a result when at length it came to action its character was one of absolute radicalism, displaying a most complex bundle of contradictory features: spirit of self-sacrifice, heroism, devotion, and love of the people conjoined with the idea that the end justified the means and that any method from forged imperial manifestoes to murderous conspiracy was justified in the struggle against the absolute evil of absolutism. And equally complex and contradictory was the uneasy to and fro within the populist thought between radical anarchism and the no less radical apotheosis of the omnipotent Jacobinic state.

The political radicalism was no doubt greatly reinforced by the economic conditions of the country. Because the populists refused to see the "advantages of backwardness" where they actually lay, the coming of capitalism meant for them not a chance for a remarkably rapid economic growth (as occurred in fact between 1885 and 1900) but merely great increase in popular misery and above all the extinction of the village commune. Hence developed the attitude of "now or never"—the race against time—so rightly and so persistently stressed by Mr. Venturi. Hence also developed the paradoxical fact that it took a strong injection of Marxism in the 1890's to effect some sort of precarious reconciliation between intelligentsia and the idea of industrial development of the country. And very soon it appeared that the most radical sectors of Russian Marxism, while formally rejecting the populist theories, had adopted a good deal of populist ideas and attitudes. This influence has never become quite obliterated. Populism as a movement of thought and action belongs to history, but, as Mr. Venturi mentions in his preface (though not in his text), it is undeniable that many of its most negative features are far from being extinct in the Russia of our time.

And this is perhaps the most striking lesson of the book. Mr. Venturi likes to regard populism as a special chapter in the history of European socialism. This is a defensible view. But it is possible that greater interest may attach to the study of populism if it be viewed instead as a chapter in the history of ideologies in conditions of backwardness. Then the story of Russian populism may acquire a note of actuality and may serve better to emphasize the great dangers that are inherent in unduly prolonged periods of economic and political backwardness.

The foregoing remarks which are largely drawn from Mr. Venturi's own selection of material are not meant, of course, to detract from the great value of his study. He has written a most reliable and most suggestive study which in all likelihood will remain for a long time the basic reference source on the subject. A translation into English would be extremely desirable.

*Harvard University*

ALEXANDER GERSCHENKRON

THE DECLINE OF IMPERIAL RUSSIA, 1855-1914. By *Hugh Seton-Watson*, Professor of Russian History in the University of London. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1952. Pp. xvi, 406. \$7.50.)

In this book, Professor Seton-Watson, author of two outstanding works on eastern Europe, has attempted a general survey of Russian history from the emancipation of the serfs to the war of 1914. He certainly has succeeded in producing a clear, scholarly, and thoughtful account of this important period, which up to now has attracted less attention than it deserves. While calling it a period of the "decline of imperial Russia," Professor Seton-Watson is careful enough to point out various signs of progress within the country, which was overcoming its backwardness and "was drawing rapidly nearer to Western Europe." Progress was impeded by the tenacity with which Russia's imperial rulers clung to the outmoded dogma of autocracy, conflicting with the Russian people's desire for representative institutions and personal liberty. But dangerous as this situation was, in the author's opinion it did not make Lenin's triumph inevitable. He thinks that Lenin as a "conspiratorial revolutionary" would have become a hopeless anachronism, had not history made him a "present of chaos" which resulted from Russia's defeat in the war.

The book is divided into three parts dealing with the reign of Alexander II, the period of reaction (1881-1905), and the Revolution of 1905, respectively. Within each of these parts, the author treats in turn the structure of state and society, the political movements, and foreign relations. Under the first heading, there are excellent sections on the country's economic development and sections devoted to the question of nationalities in the empire—a most welcome addition, in view of the fact that too often this problem has been neglected in books on modern Russian history. Although, on the whole, the author has preserved a proper balance between the various aspects of his subject, one still might wish that he had condensed his discussion of general diplomatic history and omitted some of the details referring to the controversies within the Social-Democratic party. Information on these matters is easily available elsewhere, while more space could be allotted to such topics as the work done by the zemstvo institutions, the educational progress, the growth of the press, and, in the political field, the non-revolutionary opposition parties.

In most cases I find myself in complete agreement with the author's judgment, but it seems to me that he has somewhat underestimated the extent of the change produced by the establishment of the constitutional regime in 1906. Nor is his characterization of this regime quite consistent. If in one place he describes it as "neither an autocracy nor a constitutional system" (p. 261), elsewhere he says that "the principle of autocracy remained untouched in the Fundamental Laws of May 1906" (p. 246). As a matter of fact, while the historical title of the "autocrat" was preserved, the designation of the emperor as an "un-

limited" sovereign was removed, thus depriving the concept of autocracy of its juridical content.

In a book as rich in factual material as this one, it was perhaps inevitable that a few minor errors should creep in. There seems to be no need for listing them in a brief review. Instead, I prefer to call the reader's particular attention to Professor Seton-Watson's remarkable "Epilogue." Seldom, at least in books on modern Russia, does one find so much wisdom within the scope of a few pages.

*Harvard University*

MICHAEL KARPOVICH

RUSSIA: WHAT NEXT? By *Isaac Deutscher*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1953. Pp. vii, 230. \$3.00.)

WISHFUL thinking is only human, particularly with regard to the prospects for peace in the era of nuclear fission. It is in this category that the reader's first response will most probably place this prompt book by Mr. Deutscher, one of the leading contemporary writers on Soviet affairs. A second thought, however, may direct attention to the not inconsiderable accumulation of evidence from which Deutscher has extrapolated his vision of a Russia taming itself.

One of the now rare individuals who is really a practicing Marxist, Deutscher has in this work developed an unquestionably penetrating analysis of the historical forces at work in Soviet society. It is his conclusion, not to be lightly dismissed, that Stalinism has planted and cultivated the seeds of its own destruction. Stalinism is a unique marriage of Western Marxist doctrine and Oriental conditions, in which the former partner has been reduced to the level of "primitive magic." Nevertheless, the accomplishments of Stalinism have been momentous—nothing less than the eradication of that Asiatic backwardness which initially called Stalinism into being. While its creator lived, Stalinism in dogma and in rule was stubbornly preserved even though it was outliving its usefulness. With Stalin dead, the long process of removing bodily and mental shackles has commenced.

It is in this context of an incipient crisis of disconformity between the superstructure and the substructure of society that Deutscher places the remarkable series of events in Soviet Russia since Stalin died. He believes that resentment against the rigors and idolatry of Stalin's rule, together with a growing "appeasement" attitude regarding foreign affairs, has produced a school of thought—which includes the group who succeeded to the headship of the Soviet state—inclined toward a substantial relaxation in policy both internal and foreign. Thus are explained the remarkable changes in Soviet diplomatic behavior, the amnesty and the reversal on the doctors' plot, and the extensive new price reduction.

To argue, however, that these steps in an undeniably relaxing direction are the outcome of a struggle between two factions—a Malenkov-Beria-Voroshilov



liberal faction and a Molotov-Shvernik-army die-hard Stalinist faction is neither credible (certainly not as regards the alignment Deutscher discerns), nor necessary. There is no doubt in the mind of this reviewer that Malenkov was Stalin's successor-designate, and that the associates of the former have succeeded nevertheless in imposing an essentially collective leadership, at least for the time being. It is becoming increasingly clear—particularly with the rehabilitation of the former candidate member of the Politburo, G. I. Petrovsky, who was purged in 1938, and with the recent de-emphasis on the historical role of individuals—that the main tension within the Soviet leadership was between Stalin on the one hand and practically all of his subordinates on the other. The astounding implication is that the new regime has repudiated Stalin—any comparison of the present silence about Stalin and the post-mortem adulation of Lenin will suggest this clearly.

To this reviewer the post-Stalin changes are indicative not so much of the role of material conditions in Soviet society as they are of a reaction from what is now appearing to be one of the most tremendous feats of purely personal history-making which the world has ever seen. For better or for worse, it is Stalin who deserves the credit for almost single-handedly transforming his country, while he was hated or feared by practically everyone around him.

It is difficult to set much store by Deutscher's expectation for the future. He concludes that Soviet Russia will most probably go on from the present point to evolve into a socialist democracy rather than remain indefinitely with either of the alternatives he considers—military dictatorship ("Bonapartism") or a reversion to Stalinism. The main ground for Deutscher's optimism appears to be provided by his basic Marxian premise that a highly developed industrial society most naturally, if not inevitably, tends toward a democratic and equalitarian political and social structure. This is, in view of the experience of the contemporary West, at least open to question. It is far more reasonable to expect that Soviet society, now rather thoroughly authoritarian and hierarchical in its make-up, will continue more or less in this form regardless of who heads the state. This does not, of course, preclude a basis for hope that the Soviet regime may become, both for its own citizenry and for the outside world, somewhat easier to get along with.

*Bennington College*

ROBERT V. DANIELS

[The above review was written before the fall of Beria. R.V.D.]

TITO. By *Vladimir Dedijer*. (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1953. Pp. vii, 443. \$5.00.)

THIS official biography of Tito by Vladimir Dedijer, a long-time Communist and journalist by profession, is the first extensive account of Tito's life and politi-

cal activities. The author, a close friend of Tito, frankly admits his bias, and neither he nor Tito considers the interpretation of the many events treated in this book as final and definitive. The author recorded Tito's life as Tito, from time to time, told it to him, and supplemented that information with a variety of documentary materials and with what he personally knew of Tito's work before and during World War II. Aside from its peculiar organization and occasional Communist clichés and jargon, the work is written in an easy style sparked with sporadic flares of artistry.

It seems natural that in a work such as this, stress should be placed on the socio-economic background of Tito's life, and that Tito should be presented as a near-perfect hero, sinless and faultless, and genuinely qualified for the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist movement. Tito enjoyed a checkered career in his rise to fame. Born the son of the Croatian Zagorje, he served in the Austro-Hungarian army, fell captive to the Russians, and participated in the Russian Revolution. Returning to Yugoslavia in September, 1920, Tito joined the Communist party. He found that Austria-Hungary's collapse and Yugoslavia's creation had not altered the basic social structure of Croatia. Neither Dedijer nor Tito mince words in their criticism of the Yugoslav political order in the years between the two wars.

After spending five years in jail, Tito was freed in 1934 and proceeded to climb the party ladder. In 1935 he was sent to Moscow. "My whole being rebelled against what I saw in Moscow," Tito recalled, but "I thought this was a temporary internal matter" (p. 106). In Moscow Tito was appointed member of the Balkan secretariat of the Comintern. During 1936-37 he was distinguished in organizing and dispatching volunteers to the ranks of Spanish Loyalists (pp. 112-13), and in 1937 was designated secretary general of the central committee of the Yugoslav party.

The explanation by Tito and Dedijer of the controversy involving the role of the party in the *coup d'état* of March 27, 1941, and during the ensuing period until the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June, 1941, remains unconvincing. That Mihailović collaborated with the enemy is rather generally accepted by most of those who were familiar with Yugoslav wartime developments. But few writers, Dedijer among them, endeavor to explain why he embarked on that fateful course. Although the Partisan victories during the war were truly magnificent, the author exaggerates their military prowess.

With vehemence the author exposes what he terms the "Mihailović myth" in the West and the injustices done to Tito's Partisans before they were finally recognized. He speaks sympathetically of only one or two Allied officers attached to Tito's headquarters and minimizes the importance of the supplies given the Partisans by the Allies.

The author discusses the capture, trial, and conviction of Mihailović. Otherwise, postwar developments in Yugoslavia are not treated extensively, nor are multitudinous questions involving the relations with the West given much space.

Dedijer traces the conflict with the Soviet Union back to 1941 when the Soviet leaders sought to steer the national uprising, not in the interest of the people but in the interest of the Soviet Union (p. 256). Various acts of Soviet perfidy during and after the war are listed. The Soviet Union's mission did not arrive in Yugoslavia until February, 1944, and in November of that year Stalin spoke disparagingly of the Yugoslav Partisans (p. 259). The book adds little if anything to what we already know about the Yugoslav conflict with the Soviet Union, attributed here to "the aggressive tendencies" and "hegemonic" policies of the Soviet Union.

It is a pity that the author did not analyze the Communist system which the Yugoslavs are seeking to develop. But the reader will find a discussion of many problems which throw light on Soviet Communism, Soviet relations with other Communist countries, and Stalin's opinion of some of the leading foreign Communists (pp. 274 ff.).

Much of the mystery of Tito and Yugoslav Communism remains untold; nor has the final word on the Yugoslav-Soviet break been fully reported. Nevertheless, and despite Dedijer's uncritical presentation of material and sparse documentation, his biography of Tito fills an important gap in recent Yugoslav historiography and contributes immeasurably toward our understanding of Communism in general.

*Stanford University*

WAYNE S. VUCINICH

## Far Eastern History

CHINESE THOUGHT FROM CONFUCIUS TO MAO TSÊ-TUNG. By  
*H. G. Creel.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1953. Pp. ix, 293. \$5.00.)

In this work by a prominent scholar there is a damaging divorce of intellectual history from social history, despite what the book-jacket promises of "relation of thought to background." The interesting historical questions are either simply not asked or are dealt with superficially. Why does Buddhist thought, which entered China with the Buddhist church, permanently influence the high culture of traditional China, the culture of the Confucian literati, while the Buddhist church and formal belief come to be relegated more and more to the lower classes of society? Or—for a more modern problem—how did nationalism come to arise in modern China? What is its relation to the Western-induced disintegration of the traditional social order, and to the cultural defeatism which attends the disintegration (and, as corollary questions, why is the Western impact a solvent of the old social order, and how is Chinese thought implicated in the fate of Chinese society)? It is not enough for Mr. Creel to repeat the old bromide about "nineteenth-century defeats" as an explanation of the rise of nationalism. Certainly these defeats are at the heart of the question, but we are

never really told why. An explanation that is no more refined than this is misleading, for the Chinese body politic had been humiliated by foreigners before (e.g., by the Manchus in the seventeenth century), and Chinese traditionalism had only been strengthened, Chinese values confirmed, and nationalism left unborn. The probability is that nationalism does not grow out of political defeat any more than maggots grow out of a wound. Maggots are brought to the wound, nationalism is brought to the defeat because the latter is a congenial environment, but the genesis of the former is elsewhere.

What makes Confucianism, with its injunction to the rule of virtue and example, so peculiarly appropriate to the stable traditional Chinese society? Mr. Creel notes that the Chinese empire-system, for which Confucianism became philosophy *par excellence*, was founded on anti-Confucian legalist principles, but he does not deal profoundly with this paradox. Instead, he goes off on a false trail, cataloguing distortions of original Confucian doctrine and never seriously explaining why these aberrations of individual thinkers had the power to govern intellectual life. Hsun Tzu, we are told, lacked faith in humanity, and this flaw did much to impose on later Confucianism a strait jacket of academic orthodoxy, an authoritarian system in which all truth was to be derived from the sayings of the sages. But, by the same token, why should not the influence of Mencius, who believed, unlike Hsun Tzu, in the innate goodness of man's nature, have broken the strait jacket? Mr. Creel's attribution of mysterious power to ideas which he knows to have prevailed is testimony to his concern with philosophy in the abstract rather than with intellectual history. Within the realm of ideas-in-themselves, a dogmatic bias may indeed issue logically from a belief that the nature of man is evil. But the fact that dogmatism may follow logically from Hsun Tzu's premises does not ensure its following historically, in the broader world of general Chinese thought. It was not Hsun Tzu who riveted traditionalism on Chinese society, but Chinese society which found in traditionalism its proper creed, and guaranteed Hsun Tzu's relevance.

There is questionable relevance in Mr. Creel's brief discussion of Communism, as though the reading public needed some excuse for being expected to plow through so much ancient history, e.g., "... the 'immutable *li* (principle)' of Neo-Confucian orthodoxy provided a precedent that makes it less difficult for the Chinese to subscribe to what the Communists call 'the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism.'" Possibly. But why is there not an effective antidote in the skeptical Taoist doctrine of the relativity of all values, since Mr. Creel has described that doctrine, with its concomitant individualism and insistence on compromise, as "one of the most important ingredients of the Chinese spirit"? This Neo-Confucian-Communist version of intellectual radiation at a distance seems to be only another expression of the author's intellectualist bias, whereby logical sequence or philosophical affinity is evidence of historical causality.

University of California

JOSEPH R. LEVENSON

WOODROW WILSON AND THE FAR EAST: THE DIPLOMACY OF THE SHANTUNG QUESTION. By *Russell H. Fifield*, Former American Foreign Service Officer; Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1952. Pp. xv, 383. \$5.00.)

WOODROW WILSON'S CHINA POLICY, 1913-1917. By *Tien-yi Li*, Yale University. (New York: Twayne Publishers. 1952. Pp. 268. \$4.50.)

HERE are two important additions to the growing body of literature on Chinese-American relations. Both authors have gone beyond the usual printed sources and have done extensive research in the State Department archives and in private manuscript collections. Fifield has also talked and corresponded with participants, and has made use of material from the captured Japanese documents. Li has used a number of historical works written in the Chinese language.

Professor Li sees Wilson as a missionary-influenced friend of China, anxious to aid that troubled land. Wilson was ineffective, Li thinks, largely because he was guided by ethical rather than practical considerations. Li traces policy along three main lines: finance, Chinese politics, Japanese expansion. As he sees it, Wilson's withdrawal of support from the consortium was morally defensible but helped Japan rather than China. Wilson's proposed substitute, independent action by American investors, failed partly because the President did not push it vigorously. As for Chinese politics, Wilson hoped the Revolution of 1911 would put China on the democratic road. First, though, the country needed law and order; hence, after recognizing the Chinese republic, Wilson backed the autocratic Yuan Shih-k'ai. Although "by no means unwilling to hold Japanese aggression in check," the President did little to stop the Japanese; he was held back by public opinion, military weakness, and European complications.

The Li volume is generally satisfactory in coverage and interpretation. There are certain shortcomings. While covering finance in detail, Li says little about missions and trade, important keys to American policy. He underrates the influence of J. P. Morgan and Company on the breakup of the consortium and on the failure of the independent-action policy. What is more, there is reason to believe that Wilson was less interested in China than Li implies. Certainly, as the book shows, Wilson left most China matters to subordinates; and when he took a hand his chief desire was not to help China but to avoid involvement.

Professor Fifield's book shows how study of a single issue can throw light on many different diplomatic questions. His volume centers on Versailles, two thirds of the text being given over to that conference. There are, however, important preliminary sections covering developments after Japan moved into German-dominated Shantung at the beginning of World War I. Hoping to regain control of the Shantung area, China turned to the United States. She

obtained little immediate assistance; but Japan's pressure, especially in the Twenty-one Demands, increased Wilson's sympathy for China. The President and other Washington officials were preoccupied with Europe during World War I. ("They were not thinking of China," lamented Paul Reinsch, American minister to China, and the real hero of Fifield's book.) But, after apparently yielding to Japan in the Lansing-Ishii agreement, Wilson gradually began building a stop-Japan policy, with a new consortium and intervention in Siberia.

The climax came at Versailles. Wilson and other American representatives warmly sympathized with China and opposed Japan at every step—on Shantung, the German islands, the race-equality question. The American position in turn encouraged the Chinese delegation. (China had managed to get into the conference by declaring war on Germany in 1917, over Wilson's objections.) Japan, however, was determined to quit the conference and stay out of the League of Nations if she did not win on the Shantung issue. Concerned on this point, and unable to get help from Lloyd George or Clemenceau, Wilson finally gave way. His advisers were appalled, and the Shantung settlement was attacked in the Senate. Most senators who took up the issue, however, cared little for China; they merely saw Shantung as a useful issue.

Fifield handles his diplomatic material with a sure hand. Particularly interesting is his method of showing how various American officials reacted at critical junctures and how final decisions were made. He could have added value to his volume by including material on American reactions to the Shantung issue; but as it stands his is an excellent and important study.

*University of Wisconsin*

FRED HARVEY HARRINGTON

## American History

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN HISTORY. Edited by *Richard B. Morris*, Professor of History, Columbia University. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1953. Pp. xv, 776. \$6.00.)

THIS volume is the outcome of a bold attempt to produce an encyclopedia of American history upon a novel plan. Instead of the usual alphabetical arrangement, the items are put in chronological order. This is accomplished by dividing them into three major sections and by providing an elaborate index.

In employing this arrangement the editor has had two aims in view: (1) to meet the needs of anyone seeking information in regard to some particular matter; (2) to make possible the reading of many passages as continuous narratives. Considerable testing enables the reviewer to declare confidently that both aims have been achieved to a remarkable degree. The editor, his fourteen con-

sultant associates, and his eleven assistants deserve congratulations and thanks for the accomplishment of an extraordinary achievement. They have put forth a volume that should be constantly within easy reach of everyone interested in American history and should be in every public, college, and high school library in the United States.

The method of arrangement presents some difficulties. The items are grouped in three divisions: (1) basic chronology; (2) topical chronology; (3) biographical sketches of three hundred notable Americans. The seeker after information upon some particular matter must first consult the index and go from there to the text. If the index fails to provide the desired page citation his quest may be in vain. To overcome this possibility the index has been made very elaborate as measured by ordinary standards. It consists of 139 pages and contains in the neighborhood of 140,000 items. Despite its size, however, it does not fully come up to the requirements. Its principal defects are the absence of some entries that ought to appear, the omission of many names mentioned in the text, and the citation in numerous instances of only one page reference where several ought to have been given.

Much difference of opinion is likely to prevail as to how far the editor has succeeded in his aim to make much of the book suitable for continuous reading. In the opinion of the reviewer, he has succeeded in very large measure, though some portions do not seem likely to get any considerable number of readers. This appears particularly true for certain sections in the division devoted to topical chronology. The inclusion of numerous items of small significance, an excess of statistics, and the listing of too many names, make it probable that these sections will daunt even the most persistent readers.

In a more extended review many special features would call for commendation. The thirty-two maps and charts are admirable. They really help the text. One feature calling for particular notice is the list of Supreme Court decisions at pages 462-75. In that short space the editor has contrived to get in the essence of what it is important to know about 107 cases or groups of cases decided by the Supreme Court. The task of selection has been well done; the data is accurate; the issues at stake are clearly stated; divisions of opinion among the members of the court, where significant, are pointed out.

The scope of the volume is broad. Almost every significant aspect of American history is treated in considerable detail. The division upon topical chronology contains passages on the territorial expansion of the nation, transportation, immigration, agriculture, commerce, industry, slavery, labor, social reform, inventions, science, and thought and culture.

The fundamental test of an encyclopedia is its accuracy. Measured by that standard the volume must be pronounced a striking success. Errors of fact are few. Most of those the reviewer has noted are not seriously misleading.

Where so much must be included in a single volume the problem of con-



densation without involving ambiguity becomes exceedingly difficult. The editor has met it with ingenuity and great success. One exception, however, may be noted. In the printing of many of the dates, the year is not given. In these instances the year must be ascertained by looking back to a point where it is indicated. The method saves space but often to the annoyance of the one using the book.

Part III, consisting of 110 pages and about one seventh of the whole volume, is devoted to short biographical sketches of three hundred notable Americans. The reviewer thinks that the wisdom of including this feature may well be questioned. Not much is added to the utility of the book. The selections are open to question. The sketches, however, are uniformly well done.

A word of commendation is due to the publishers for the excellent format and for the reasonable price.

*Dartmouth College*

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON

SEEDTIME OF THE REPUBLIC: THE ORIGIN OF THE AMERICAN TRADITION OF POLITICAL LIBERTY. By *Clinton Rossiter*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1953. Pp. xiv, 558. \$7.50.)

THIS lengthy and important compendium of early American political opinion and the situation in which it developed represents an enormous amount of research into colonial newspapers, pamphlets, sermons, and other writings. It combines the biographical, the analytical, and the historical methods. In spite of a certain breathlessness, induced no doubt by the vast territory covered, it presents a striking synthesis of circumstance, men, and heritage, the titles of its three parts. Professor Rossiter's own enthusiasm is transferred to the page and the reader. He is never tedious and few of his pages will fail to stimulate a desire to pursue further the ideas described or suggested. Though long, the book is so arranged in parts, chapters, and topics within each that students and their teachers should find this a most useful introduction to the American tradition of political liberty. Perhaps it should be added here that the discussion of the origins of that tradition is focused upon the factors produced by the colonial scene, though nearly every page bears some reference to the European background.

Professor Rossiter is not afraid of large topics. He devotes thirty pages to the colonial mind (under that heading) and manages in this space to present an amazingly vivid and detailed picture. He does not ignore the limitations imposed by "buskin and bullock" and cannot be accused of an exaggerated estimate of colonial culture. He briefly describes the English framework of thought and insists that, in spite of growing rationalism and tolerance on both sides of the Atlantic, this was essentially a Christian framework still. He asserts that men

lived in an awareness of human liberty, though he notices the class structure of society, and a differentiation in education strange to modern democratic practice. He describes the place of libraries in the period. He lists the "prophets to whom appeals for support" in controversy were most often made. He supposes that as in English politics, "the edifice of liberty was made to rest on three grand supports: natural law and natural rights, Whig constitutionalism, and virtue . . . three essentials of the party line." He rightly emphasizes the tremendous importance attached to virtue and its concomitant, happiness, in the eighteenth century, though he perhaps slightly obscures an excellent point when he calls this virtue "an interesting refinement of Whig political theory." After all, from Cumberland through Shaftesbury and Hutcheson and their followers, the philosophers and psychologists developed and analyzed this ancient subject, and their definitions lie at the base of most liberal thought in Britain and in America.

Professor Rossiter's originality consists largely in the scope of his inquiry—the total environment provided by that part of this continent settled in 1776, as well as the nature of the factors of liberty. He selects, as most notable and characteristic, six men—Hooker, Williams, Wise, Mayhew, Bland, and Franklin—each as representative of colonial thought rather than as major influences upon it. Finally he presents an extensive analysis of the political theory of the Revolution itself. He is concerned rather with the rough and ready political slogans and expedients of the period than with an attempt to discover subtlety or sharpness of definition. His scheme prevents any detailed discussion of the philosophies of Jefferson, Madison, or Adams. His concern is with the connection of theory with the world of political action. He concludes that the American revolutionary creed produced neither a universal thinker nor a definitive book like Locke's famous *Essay on Government*. It was, however, taken to the hearts of tens of thousands of hopeful Americans. According to this creed the best of all possible governments will be popular, limited, divided, balanced, representative, republican, constitutional, and virtuous. The major characteristics of revolutionary thought are therefore individualism, toughness, optimism, idealism, pragmatism, and morality. Doctrinaires of the left or the right are horrified, but the American heritage has provided us with principles adequate for present-day problems.

There is plenty of room for controversy in this book, over matters of detail and concerning methods of approach. There are some repetitions (for example over the right of migration). In his anxiety to be all inclusive, and as a result of total immersion in eighteenth-century writing, Professor Rossiter is given to stringing together long lists of names, or attributes, or adjectives (as illustrated in the last paragraph above) from which he is seldom willing to omit even one as his subjects or his theses recur. There are minor slips in the index which a second edition could correct. This reviewer loves footnotes and has already found many useful references in those to this volume which are well worth study. But surely these would be far clearer if the list of abbreviations on page 510 to

chapter ten were placed immediately after the useful note (pp. 453–56) which must also be kept open for the elucidation of many other abbreviations.

*Bryn Mawr College*

CAROLINE ROBBINS

THE STAMP ACT CRISIS: PROLOGUE TO REVOLUTION. By *Edmund S. and Helen M. Morgan*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia. 1953. Pp. x, 310. \$6.00.)

WE are told in the preface that the authors have endeavored “to see general issues through the eyes of individual men.” The men selected are too largely officeholders who favored the Stamp Act program or were charged with its enforcement. Separate chapters are assigned to Francis Bernard, John Robinson, Thomas Hutchinson, Jared Ingersoll, and John Hughes—nearly one fourth of the entire volume. Daniel Dulany is the only patriot leader who rates a full chapter. This emphasis is unusual. An “Epilogue” relates in detail how the Tory leaders in the controversy were later rewarded with lucrative positions under the Townshend Revenue Act.

The best chapters are those where no special effort has been made to present the opinions of individuals. Chapter x on the opening of ports and courts is especially well done.

There are separate chapters on the Sugar Act and the Stamp Act. Neither attempts to analyze for the reader the provisions of the law and how it operated or what was to be done with the money. In the case of the Stamp Act there is needed some explanation of what happened to the stamps that were not returned to the accounting officer in England. These totaled more than £12,000 for New England and more than as much more for New York. Were they destroyed locally?

The treatment as a whole is too largely that of a study in local history. About one fifth of the space is devoted to what happened in New England—some incidents, such as the “New Light” movement, rather remotely related to the Stamp Act issues. The Stamp Act applied to the entire colonial empire and was as effectively nullified in Antigua, Grenada, and Bermuda as it was in Connecticut.

In spite of these limitations the authors have made real contributions to an understanding of the vital issues involved. The confusion over “internal” and “external” taxes has been effectively clarified. Apparently no responsible American ever conceded a right of Parliament to tax the colonies for revenue purposes in any form.

In his “Conclusions” Professor Morgan rises above the trivialities of local incidents and recognizes the vital permanent constitutional questions that were involved. He states his conviction clearly and concisely:

Yet in the last analysis the significance of the Stamp Act crisis lies in the emergence, not of leaders and methods and organizations, but of well defined constitutional principles. The resolutions of the colonial and inter-colonial assemblies in 1765 laid down the line on which Americans stood until they cut their connections with England. Consistently from 1765 to 1776 they denied the authority of Parliament to tax them externally or internally; consistently they affirmed their willingness to submit to whatever legislation Parliament should enact for the supervision of the empire as a whole [p. 295].

It is hoped that Professor Morgan will expand his study to the rest of the American colonies and show how essentially every constitutional issue raised in the period 1765-1775 has ultimately been resolved by the British Empire itself in favor of the American point of view. The controversy started in 1764 and 1765 shaped not only the constitution of the United States but that of the modern British Empire as well. We need to have the full story.

Greeley, Colorado

O. M. DICKERSON

THE GREAT MAN: GEORGE WASHINGTON AS A HUMAN BEING.

By *Howard Swiggett*. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1953. Pp. xvii, 491. \$5.00.)

THIS is a lively study of Washington's character and career from his election as commander in chief of the Continental Army in 1775 to his death in 1799. About three fourths deals with the eight war years, the remainder with the final sixteen. The staccato style and pugnacity are reminiscent of Woodward's *George Washington: The Image and the Man*; but Swiggett gives a more favorable and, to my mind, sounder interpretation of Washington's character and military ability than Woodward. Considerable new material is brought to light, notably in chapters 31 and 16 dealing with Washington's attitude toward slavery and his conduct relative to the Laurens-Lee duel of December, 1778.

Washington deplored slavery and favored gradual abolition, but yet refrained from freeing his own slaves during his lifetime, chiefly, it seems, because of the inconvenience and sacrifice of income involved. Fearing that the household slaves brought with him to Philadelphia, the temporary national capital, were about to become free under the law of Pennsylvania liberating slaves brought into the state by their masters and kept there six months, Washington, who had gone to Virginia, wrote Tobias Leer, in April, 1791, to get the slaves back to Virginia "under pretext that may deceive both them and the Public; and none I think would so effectually do this, as Mrs. Washington coming to Virginia next month. . . . This would naturally bring her maid and Austin, and Hercules, under the idea of coming home to *Cook* whilst we remained there, might be sent on in the Stage" (Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, XXXVII, 573-74).

As to the Laurens-Lee duel, the challenge issued by Washington's aide, Colonel John Laurens and delivered to Lee by another member of Washington's staff, Colonel Alexander Hamilton, flagrantly violated army regulations. The challenge was issued while Washington, Laurens, and Hamilton were all in Philadelphia and details of the duel were almost immediately publicized. Yet Washington took no steps to punish Laurens and Hamilton by dismissing or suspending them or ordering a court-martial to try them, thus countenancing violation of the army rule against dueling. According to Swiggett, the rule, whose breach was thus countenanced by Washington, was adopted by Congress in June, 1775, on his recommendation, in place of a weaker rule initially proposed; but no source for this statement is cited, and I found no substantiation for it in Ford, *Journals of Congress*, Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, or Burnett, *Letters of Members*.

The chief weakness of this interesting book, illustrated by the example just given, is the author's failure to cite sources. Another weakness is the seeming bias against Gates and John Adams. For example, the author clearly implies (pp. 140-41) that in 1777, when Washington asked Gates to send Morgan's corps and the brigades of Paterson, Glover, and Nixon to join the main army, Gates sent only one brigade, whereas, in truth, he sent Morgan's corps and two brigades, retaining only a single Continental brigade (Nixon's) for the northern department (Knollenberg, *Washington and the Revolution*, pp. 32-34 with citation of sources). In criticizing the list of suggested army officers sent by President Adams to Washington in 1798, as "a strange, almost crafty roster of old and young, which can hardly have been prepared except to confuse" (p. 456), Swiggett describes it as a "list for the choice of field commander." In fact the list related to the whole group of top officers, staff, and line, and was well conceived for this larger purpose.

Chester, Connecticut

BERNHARD KNOLLENBERG

GEORGE WASHINGTON IN AMERICAN LITERATURE, 1775-1865. By William Alfred Bryan. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1952. Pp. xii, 280. \$4.00.)

"In all likelihood every young nation has something of an 'inferiority complex.' Americans found it good at frequent intervals to assure and remind themselves of their dignity and importance, and this they could well do through contemplation of the character and career of Washington." So the late William Alfred Bryan has stated his main theme in this well-documented reconstruction of George Washington's progress toward Olympus. But older nations than the United States have indulged in similar worship of the national hero, and there is little in these pages that points to a process uniquely American. Indeed, the

universal often obscures the national throughout the author's discriminating analysis.

It is Professor Bryan's contention that the young Republic in its formative years needed some symbol to which all its people could turn with pride, and that the hero Washington, general and statesman, had won the confidence and respect of his generation. His elevation to the Valhalla of national heroes was immediate and permanent. But this somewhat confuses the way in which Washington's contemporary admirers fixed the austere dignified character, so sharply defined in the Stuart portraits, and the much more complicated process by which he became the "Father of His Country." The partisan bitterness and animosities of the very decades in which the heroic legend was being shaped are not neglected in this study, but they are minimized. The author dismisses them rather too easily with the Emersonian phrase that "time dissipates to shining ether the solid angularity of facts." It has also made some facts the more angular and difficult to get around.

When Professor Bryan organized his material, he chose to consider the literary development of the Washington legend, under such categories as oratory, biography, verse, drama, and fiction. Each is a delightful essay; and the author has managed with great skill to keep in the forefront of such a topical arrangement the chronology of events that played so large a part in determining just how Americans would regard one of their greatest heroes. What is lacking, however, is a careful estimate of the impact of the various forms of literary expression. Did either the oratory or the verses or the drama make as profound an impression on American minds as the ideas evoked by the various Stuart portraits? Was Parson Weems, with his unrestrained imagination and his forty editions, more potent than all the other biographers and the writers of fiction combined? In time's relentless selections what determines the myth or the fact that will endure?

Of one thing the reader will be sure. The Americans who first fashioned the stature of the heroic Washington, in the hope that he would become the symbol of a united nation, were less well served by their handiwork in their own time than in the generations that have come after them.

*Columbia University*

JOHN A. KROUT

THE CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. By  
*Caleb Perry Patterson*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1953. Pp. xi, 211.  
\$4.00.)

IN spite of the spate of writings on Jefferson, and in spite of the fact that notwithstanding his versatile genius he is best known as a statesman and political

leader, it is nevertheless true that no adequate and specific treatment of Jefferson's political principles has hitherto been published. (Of course nearly every writer on Jefferson says something about his political philosophy. The following come closest to the topic: John W. Wayland, *The Political Opinions of Thomas Jefferson* [New York, 1907]; Charles E. Merriam, "The Political Theory of Jefferson," *Political Science Quarterly*, XVII (March, 1902), 24-45; Lynton K. Caldwell, *The Administrative Theories of Hamilton and Jefferson* [Chicago, 1944]; Edward Dumbauld, *The Declaration of Independence and What It Means Today* [Norman, 1950]; Saul K. Padover, *Democracy: By Thomas Jefferson* [New York, 1939]; Charles M. Wiltse, *The Jeffersonian Tradition in American Democracy* [Chapel Hill, 1935]; and John Sharp Williams, *Thomas Jefferson: His Permanent Influence on American Institutions* [New York, 1913].) Professor Patterson's volume therefore fills an important gap in the vast literature about the third President of the United States and will prove very useful and convenient. In structure and arrangement the book is an admirably ordered gleanings from Jefferson's published writings (apparently no manuscript sources were used); in style it is marked by a spirited eloquence and clarity.

The author admits (p. viii) being "much interested in the implications of Jefferson's thought for today," and in that regard occasionally expresses partisan opinions which will not be shared by all readers. Thus he says that in the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt "the American people gave the most overwhelming approval to Jeffersonian principles to be found in the annals of American politics. They did not foresee that he and his successor's administrations would shamelessly abandon those very principles" (p. ix; see also pp. 63 ff., 71, 105, 111, 125). But these digressions are few in number, temperate in tone, and reasonably relevant to the Jeffersonian doctrine which elicits them; in any event they are not out of place in the mouth of a Texan today. Misprints in the book are few. One error which should be mentioned is the quotation as a Jefferson document of the passage on natural and civil rights (pp. 55-56) which Chinard attributed to Jefferson but in his second edition (not available to Patterson) recognized as having been written by Thomas Paine.

With these caveats, the book may be unqualifiedly praised. After a discussion of Jefferson as a lawyer (chap. 1), Professor Patterson treats the manner in which Jefferson as author of the Declaration of Independence "became a chief contributor to our constitutional system of government" (p. 29). Jefferson's theory of self-government as a natural right and of the Constitution as a delegation of limited powers to the government by consent of the governed is then described (p. 52). Professor Patterson rightly stresses Jefferson's belief in the supremacy of constitutions as fundamental law and his approval of judicial review as a means of maintaining that supremacy. In fact Jefferson was the first to propose judicial review rather than the comprehensive federal veto over state action which Madison favored in the Constitutional Convention. Jefferson also favored amend-



ment rather than loose construction as a means of keeping the Constitution abreast of contemporary needs (pp. 73-79).

Passing to particular aspects of Jefferson's general constitutional theory, the author discusses Jefferson's opposition to executive power (chap. 5: this would have been timely material for the Supreme Court in the recent steel seizure case); bureaucracy (chap. 6); centralization by judicial fiat (chap. 7); and the substantive interpretation of the general welfare clause (chap. 8). Constitutional issues connected with the Louisiana Purchase, the Embargo, and the Kentucky Resolutions are then considered (chap. 9).

Concluding chapters deal with Jefferson's contributions to the territorial growth of the Union and the establishment of republican government in the territories (chap. 10); to public education (chap. 11); and his achievements as champion of freedom of the mind (chap. 12). Throughout his life Jefferson "was dedicated to fighting for the liberty of man. . . . Whether this battle was being fought in Virginia or on a national scale, it was Jefferson who led the forces of freedom" (p. 188).

*Uniontown, Pennsylvania*

EDWARD DUMBAULD

COMMENTARIES ON THE CONSTITUTION, 1790-1860. By *Elizabeth Kelley Bauer*. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 575.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1952. Pp. 400. \$4.75.)

EVERY American counterpart of Macaulay's schoolboy has read and been told that the American Constitution has grown through interpretation, as well as through formal amendment. Few persons are aware of the extent to which the ideas and policies of executive, legislative, and judicial branches have been influenced by the various commentaries on the Constitution.

Miss Bauer has chosen to limit her study to the formal commentaries, thus excluding such examples as are to be found in speeches and essays, as well as in such controversial writings as *The Federalist*. She deals with books by thirteen authors, some of them, like Wilson, Kent, Story, and John Taylor, well known, others, like Rawle, DuPonceau, Deuer, and Hoffman, relatively, and perhaps deservedly, obscure.

The book is divided into four parts of very different lengths. Part one is fourteen pages long and deals, very superficially, with the nature and historical setting of the commentaries. Part two, the longest section (pp. 35-207), contains brief biographies of the commentators. Much of this might well have been omitted. Part three (p. 211-331) is "The Contents of the Commentaries." The concluding section of 26 pages is concerned with "The Uses of the Commentaries."

Only one aspect of political thought and public law, the nature of the union, is dealt with, though several of the commentaries have much that is interesting

and relevant to say on other aspects of political and legal thought. Nor is there any very illuminating analysis of the ideas of the commentators on this one subject. In place of interpretation and evaluation we are offered brief narrative and descriptive accounts of the books, together with quotation and paraphrase. The short chapter on the uses or applications of the commentaries is similarly disappointing, partly because of formalistic method, partly because of the limitations the author has imposed upon herself in her selection of books and the portions thereof to be discussed. There are much more comprehensive treatments available of the books by several of the better-known commentators, but in the biographical section and the bibliography there are materials which will be helpful to those in search of information concerning the less well known authors and commentaries.

Smith College

BENJAMIN F. WRIGHT

RELIGION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN CULTURE, 1765-1840. By *William Warren Sweet*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1952. Pp. xiv, 338. \$3.50.)

"INSTEAD of reflecting merely the thoughts and sentiments of a priestly caste," writes Dr. Sweet, "American church history deals with a great mass of active and influential laymen. The central theme in this volume is the part played by organized religion in the transit of civilization westward." Thus the author continues his ambitious four-volume project that began so successfully with *Religion in Colonial America*. Perhaps the title promises too much in suggesting that the book is primarily concerned with the impact of religion upon many phases of American social and intellectual history. Yet it does deal, though very briefly, with such cultural themes as church colleges, frontier moral courts, and frontier religious songs. Dr. Sweet is much more concerned with the dissemination of Protestantism westward (Catholicism is dealt with more cursorily) rather than the impact of religion on the arts and sciences, the class structure, and educational and political thought.

In strict topical and chronological arrangement, the author tells the story of the adjustment of each of the larger sects to the issues of the American Revolution; its independence of Old World ties; the various devices used to bring religion to the frontier such as the camp meeting, the circuit rider, and the western missionary; the growth of seminaries and religious publications; and the successive stages in the revolt against Calvinism. Although some of this story has been told in recent years by Alice F. Tyler and George Stephenson among others, Dr. Sweet has kept his narrative reasonably fresh by making available not only his own considerable researches and the recent monographs of other scholars but also the remarkably high-grade theses done by his numerous doctoral students. One of the latter, Dr. Charles Johnson (Ph.D., Northwestern), has retold the story of the

camp meeting in so analytical a way as to prove that many historians have been misled in their notion of what it actually was. It appears that the wild Cane Ridge and Logan County Camp Meetings, which have been taken to be typical of the camp meeting generally, were extreme exceptions, not the rule. Sweet adds to this that the shouting sects did not have a monopoly of the camp meetings but shared them with the numerous Presbyterian and Congregational preachers who brought a far higher literacy to their tasks than the others did; and these Calvinist sects produced the most conspicuous revivalists in American religious history from Jonathan Edwards to Billy Sunday. The author points out that the Episcopalians were so handicapped by their high educational requirements for clergy that they failed to win many frontiersmen and were forced to depend on the rise of western towns and cities for their growth westward.

The interaction of church and state is best told for the revolutionary and constitutional periods, a theme upon which many scholars have labored. Dr. Sweet traces the emergence of a definite separation of church and state for this era, although he also points out that the Continental Congress was daily concerned with nonsecular legislation for keeping the Sabbath, setting aside fast days, providing for public worship, and punishing blasphemy and immorality.

The author has an interesting thesis which he feels "explodes" Beard's economic theory regarding the origins of the Constitution. He cites some highly relevant evidence to prove that the religious split over ratification was basic. The Presbyterians, acting with almost complete unanimity, opposed the adoption of the Constitution because they feared that it meant a state church unless some explicit guarantees in the form of a Bill of Rights were added. Baptists and Quakers shared this feeling. On the other hand, the Congregationalists believed that the projected Constitution would be advantageous. This important thesis deserves more intensive examination and, it seems likely, may blend with rather than exclude the Beard thesis.

While this crowded canvas prevents a sharp central focus, there is much fascinating material here. One meets the varied personalities of frontier religion and the fecund theologies that western conditions encouraged. New York state and Ohio had their extraordinary revivalist, Charles G. Finney, and his perfectionist "Oberlin Theology"; a more extreme and perhaps better-known perfectionist was Noyes of New York and Vermont who left his mark in the Oneida Community. Calvinist "gentlemen in black" of the frontier tried hard to subdue the outspoken Methodists, who complained that they were never able to say "Amen" above a whisper in a Calvinist community. Dr. Sweet has succeeded in tracing the ideological splinters into which Calvinism disintegrated such as the Universalists, the Unitarians, the Free Will Baptists, and the various Arminian-influenced sects. He retells, with generous acknowledgment to Dr. Whitney Cross, the story of that amazing area, the "burned-over district." Altogether, the author has added a new debt owed him by historians and students; while the reviewer

prefers Dr. Sweet's first volume to this one, he appreciates the high scholarly standards which have made American religious history a major branch of historical scholarship.

*Western Reserve University*

HARVEY WISH

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES. By *Walter Buckingham Smith*, James G. Boswell Professor of American Economic Institutions, Claremont Men's College. [Studies in Economic History Published in Coöperation with the Committee on Research in Economic History.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1953. Pp. xii, 314. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR Smith's book provides a lucid and vigorous account of the operations of the Second Bank of the United States. It supplements Catterall's classic work by a more comprehensive use of statistical material and by more adequate treatment of debt retirement, of the Bank's international activities and of its final period of decadence as a Pennsylvania corporation. Using the Bank as a focus, Professor Smith is able to give a valuable picture of the broad growth of the American economy between 1816 and 1841. A series of tables on employment, investment, international payments, state bond issues, and so on, enhances the usefulness of the book.

Professor Smith states correctly that both friends and enemies of the Bank greatly exaggerated its power to affect economic development and stability. He believes nevertheless that the First and Second Banks represented an able and promising experiment in central banking, that "the constructive achievements of the Bank from 1819 to 1834 were of a high order," and that the defeat of the Bank recharter turned the United States from one of the most financially inventive countries in the world "into one of the most backward."

There is undoubtedly more to be said for this viewpoint than critics of the Bank (including this writer) have allowed. On the other hand, Professor Smith, I think, understates and to some degree misunderstands the political issues involved. The Bank was not a chaste and impartial institution until Jackson's willful hostility forced it into politics; a detailed examination of its local officials would certainly show that the majority were actively opposed to the Jackson party and the new political tendencies. And, if Professor Smith had read the Jacksonian financial theorists with the same sympathy that he has read the friends of the Bank, he might have given a more fair picture of Jacksonian banking conceptions. As it is, W. M. Gouge, for example, is mentioned only once, and then in passing.

The great value of the book, however, is the extent to which it raises important questions. For this reader, it raised in particular the question whether in the end it may not be concluded that the men in Jackson's day who were most

nearly right from the viewpoint of economic growth were neither the Bank advocates nor the hard money theorists but the soft money men of the West. American economic progress in this period would probably not have been nearly so rapid had it not been for the rapid expansion of the means of payment, brought about largely by the champions of uncontrolled banking. Thus the increase in the monetary supply from 69 million dollars in 1820 to 93 million in 1830 and 205 million in 1836 came about largely as a result of banking practices which neither W. M. Gouge nor Professor Smith would have approved. Yet in this period, while prices rose by about seventeen per cent, national income rose by about two thirds. These figures strongly suggest that, without the expansion in monetary supply, there would have been a much lower rate of economic growth.

*Harvard University*

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

THE COTTON KINGDOM: A TRAVELLER'S OBSERVATIONS ON COTTON AND SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAN SLAVE STATES. Based upon Three Former Volumes of Journeys and Investigations by the Same Author. By *Frederick Law Olmsted*. Edited, with an Introduction by *Arthur M. Schlesinger*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1953. Pp. lxiii, 626, xvi. \$6.75.)

THE profusion of books about the antebellum South written by contemporary visitors reflected the curiosity of literate Northerners and Europeans about the social peculiarities of that region. These books, when written by competent observers who remained in the South long enough to avoid superficiality, collectively constitute a major primary source for the historian. Among the countless travelers who left published or unpublished records of their impressions, Frederick Law Olmsted was in a class by himself. Professor Schlesinger does not exaggerate the value of Olmsted's *Cotton Kingdom*, which is an abridgment of three earlier books, when he calls it "the nearest thing posterity has to an exact transcription of a civilization . . . an indispensable work in the process of recapturing the American past." For Olmsted wrote a classic comparable to those written by Arthur Young, Tocqueville, and Bryce.

When Olmsted visited the South in the 1850's, he did not go as a mere casual observer. He was sent there with a commission from Henry J. Raymond of the *New York Times* to find out all he could and to give an honest report of his observations. He went equipped with a knowledge of agriculture and with experience as a traveler, writer, and reporter. Olmsted devoted more than a year to his journeys through the slave states. He visited cities as well as rural areas, small farms as well as large plantations. His interest was not limited to slavery, for he also wrote about manners, morals, religion, dress, diet, housing, transportation—in short, nearly everything.

Olmsted composed his articles and books not from a fallible memory but from copious notes taken during his trips. He did a superb job of reporting. But this does not mean that he entered the South with an unbiased mind. Though far from an abolitionist, Olmsted was a mild critic of slavery as a social system and a doctrinaire critic of slavery as a labor system. These attitudes, and the mounting sectional tensions of the 1850's, clearly affected the nature of his generalizations and conclusions. For example, he insisted that slave labor was almost uniformly wasteful, incompetent, and more expensive than free labor in spite of much contrary evidence found in his own writings. But this in itself is significant. It means that though his own convictions influenced his interpretations, they did not cause him to suppress evidence that failed to support his personal views. Olmsted reported what he saw and heard as accurately as it was humanly possible to do.

Professor Schlesinger has discussed fully the problem of bias in an admirable introduction to this handsome new edition of the *Cotton Kingdom*, the first published since 1862. The introduction also includes a brief biographical sketch, an account of Olmsted's journeys and how his books were written, and a record of their reception by contemporaries and by subsequent historians. In addition, Schlesinger has compiled a good analytical index.

Editor and publisher deserve the appreciation of the present generation of students and scholars for making it possible for them to have Olmsted on their shelves.

University of California, Berkeley

KENNETH M. STAMPP

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN. Edited by Roy P. Basler. Assistant Editors, Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap. In nine volumes. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press for the Abraham Lincoln Association, Springfield, Ill. 1953. Pp. 519; 553; 555; 563; 554; 562; 551; 595. Index vol. to be published later. \$115.)

"In times of change and danger when there is a quicksand of fear under men's reasoning," wrote John Dos Passos in *The Ground We Stand On*, "a sense of continuity with generations gone before can stretch like a lifeline across the scary present." It is the search for that continuity which has provided the major theme for American historical writing during the past two troubled decades. Avoiding both cynicism and adulation the new history combines a disciplined use of the soundest scholarly techniques with a fine sympathy for the American past. A chief characteristic of the new scholarship is its monumental scale. Such works as Douglas Southall Freeman's *R. E. Lee*, Allan Nevins' *Ordeal of the Union*, and Carl Van Doren's *Benjamin Franklin* represent what Alfred Kazin has characterized as an "attempt not to 'escape' into the past but to pack the whole of the past into the present."

Symptomatic of this dominant tendency in American historical scholarship has been the attention given in the past two decades to the collecting, editing, and publishing of the writings of our Republic's saints and sages. The pathmarker here was John C. Fitzpatrick's bicentennial edition of *The Writings of George Washington*, but other equally ambitious projects soon followed. Typical of the trend are Ralph L. Rusk's *The Complete Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Samuel I. Rosenman's *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, Julian P. Boyd's *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, and Elting E. Morison's *Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*.

When compared with these new and definitive editions, the writings of Abraham Lincoln seemed to have been surprisingly neglected. Civil War students have been obliged to use the old and imperfect collections edited by John G. Nicolay and John Hay (12 vols., 1905) or by Arthur Brooks Lapsley (8 vols., 1905), and to supplement these by searching through Gilbert A. Tracy's *Uncollected Letters of Abraham Lincoln* (1917), Ida M. Tarbell's *Life of Abraham Lincoln* (1900), which included many documents in an appendix, *Lincoln Letters Hitherto Unpublished in the Library of Brown University* (1927), Paul M. Angle's *New Letters and Papers of Abraham Lincoln* (1930), Emanuel Hertz's *Abraham Lincoln: A New Portrait* (1931), and Rufus Rockwell Wilson's *Uncollected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (2 vols., 1947-48). Even with the greatest care the scholar could not be sure that he had read all of Lincoln's statements on any subject, and only a few experts could know whether the available texts were accurate and authentic.

Clearly a new and definitive edition of Lincoln's works has long been needed. Ever since 1925 the Abraham Lincoln Association of Springfield, Illinois, had as its ultimate objective the publication of Lincoln's writings, and under a series of able executive secretaries (Paul M. Angle, Benjamin P. Thomas, Harry E. Pratt, and W. E. Baringer), the association accumulated an extensive file of Lincoln manuscripts and photostats, ready for future use. Actual publication could not be planned until after the 1947 opening of the Robert Todd Lincoln Collection, with its hundreds of Lincoln holographs. At this time Roy P. Basler became executive secretary of the association and editor-in-chief of the projected publication. Aided by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, assisted by collectors, librarians, and research workers all over the nation, and guided by an editorial board composed of Paul M. Angle, J. G. Randall, and Benjamin P. Thomas, Mr. Basler and his two assistant editors, Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, have produced an edition of Lincoln's writings which meets the highest expectations of Civil War scholars. The editors refrain from calling their labors "definitive," but they are far too modest: this is a work of permanent value, and a basic tool for any respectable library. *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* represents a major achievement in American historical scholarship.

In these eight volumes (an additional index volume is to appear later) Lin-



coln's writings are chronologically presented, from his copybook verses of 1824 to a memorandum written at 8:30 on the evening of April 14, 1865. Appendixes in the eighth volume present undated letters, items received too late for inclusion in their proper chronological place, and a valuable list of "writings for which no text has been found, forgeries and spurious or dubious items attributed to Lincoln."

From a physical as well as from a scholarly point of view, this set is most impressive. The Rutgers University Press has seen that the books are handsomely designed and sumptuously bound. Each volume bears a portrait of Lincoln as frontispiece, and the first volume also contains colotype reproductions of pages from Lincoln's boyhood sum book and survey maps he made later in Illinois.

*The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* will at once supersede all previous collections of the President's writings. Since this handsome and valuable set is destined to have a permanent place in our libraries, it is desirable that it be appraised by the most rigorous standards of historical criticism. Perhaps the first requirement for an authoritative edition of the writings of a public figure is that the documents included be authentic. The test is a particularly important one in the present case, for Lincoln autographs are so valuable that forgery is a constant possibility. Even Nicolay and Hay permitted three items of doubtful authenticity to pass their scrutiny, and Emanuel Hertz included at least seven forgeries and fabrications.

Dr. Basler and his assistant editors have taken great care to insure the genuineness of the writings they reproduce. So strict are their standards that numerous items elsewhere attributed to Lincoln—such as the pseudonymous "Sampson's Ghost" letters and many unsigned editorials in the *Sangamo Journal*—have been excluded because the evidence as to their authorship is insufficient.

For each item which is included the editors have sought to locate an indisputably authentic source. Wherever possible the original Lincoln manuscript has been searched out, and the footnote which follows each item gives the location of the source. (Inadvertently, the whereabouts of the first draft of the Gettysburg address [VII, 17-18] is not specified. The manuscript is in the Library of Congress.) In a few cases where only a partial or imperfect text can be located, the editorial note gives due warning of questionable authenticity.

Establishing the genuineness of Lincoln letters is a tricky, technical business, and in general the editors seem to have handled their difficult assignment very well. Two items of questionable authenticity seem to have escaped their vigilant checking. The first is a "Memorandum on Fort Sumter," tentatively dated March 18, 1861 (IV, 288-90), here attributed to Lincoln. Apparently the only reason for thinking it Lincoln's is the first sentence: "Some considerations in favor of withdrawing the Troops from Fort Sumpter [*sic*], by President Lincoln." To this reviewer it appears that the editors have misread that "by" to mean authorship, when properly it indicates only agency. The manuscript bears no other internal

or external evidence of having been the President's production. It is not in Lincoln's writing; the phrasing is distinctly not Lincolnian; and the document itself is not located among the Lincoln Papers but instead is in the Gideon Welles MSS.

A good deal more serious is the inclusion of a letter purportedly written by Lincoln in 1864 (VII, 101-102) to General James S. Wadsworth, in which the President declared: "The restoration of the Rebel States to the Union must rest upon the principle of civil and political equality of both races. . . ." If authentic, this document would require a complete reconsideration of Lincoln's reconstruction policy. As a matter of fact, it is in direct contradiction to Lincoln's other authenticated statements on the touchy subject of Negro suffrage; for the "private consideration" of the governor of restored Louisiana in defining the elective franchise, Lincoln would "barely suggest . . . whether some of the colored people may not be let in—as, for instance, the very intelligent . . ." (VII, 243). The provenience of the Wadsworth letter is distressingly dubious. Apparently first published in September, 1865, in the *Southern Advocate* (which the editors cannot identify, but which may have been published in Huntsville, Alabama), the letter was reprinted by the New York *Tribune* to support the Republican Radicals' war upon President Johnson's reconstruction policies. The last paragraph of the letter, as printed in the *Collected Works*, has an even more remote source; it is taken from an 1893 article by the marquis de Chambrun. Nobody even claims to have seen the manuscript from which the letter to Wadsworth was allegedly copied. Unauthenticated in origin and un-Lincolnian in phrasing and in ideas, the Wadsworth letter cannot be accepted as genuine.

*The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* must also be tested for comprehensive coverage. Here a remarkable advance over all previous collections is noted. Nicolay and Hay's "complete" edition of Lincoln's writings, the most extensive heretofore, contained 2,254 items. The present eight volumes, by Dr. Basler's count, include 6,870. A sample check of the first two hundred items printed in the sixth volume (December, 1862–February, 1863) shows that ninety-three of them are here collected for the first time. According to Dr. Harry E. Pratt's tabulation, of the 1,698 items dated before March 4, 1861, 578 have not been previously printed. Admitting that they have not discovered "an equivalent of the Gettysburg Address," the editors correctly believe that this newly published material makes "a considerable contribution to the understanding of Lincoln both in his private and public capacity."

All known items in Lincoln's writing have been included except routine endorsements, copies made by Lincoln of the writings of others, and manuscripts of Lincoln's law cases. It was originally planned to publish the legal documents in a separate volume, but since the Abraham Lincoln Association has now closed its offices and turned its files over to the Illinois State Historical Library, it is assumed that this project has been suspended. For Lincoln's legal briefs the interested student will still have to consult the rather unsatisfactory and incomplete volumes

edited by Rufus Rockwell Wilson. Nevertheless the decision to omit law cases from the present collection was a wise one. Most readers will be surprised at the number of legal papers of rather narrow interest which after all were included. It is not precisely clear why such technical documents as the 1856 "Opinion on Land Titles in Beloit, Wisconsin" (II, 336-39) or the 1859 "Opinion concerning Swamp Lands in Bureau County, Illinois" (III, 352-55) deserve space in these volumes if the briefs of Lincoln's more famous law suits had to be omitted.

*The Collected Works* also include manuscripts or documents not in Lincoln's handwriting but bearing his signature, with the exception of "acts of congress, treaties, commissions, authorizations, appointments, pardons, land grants, checks, ships' papers, certificates of service, credences, discharge papers, military orders (except those personally drafted or primarily Lincoln's), draft orders, routine letters and endorsements of transmittal, routine pardon and clemency endorsements . . . , approvals, letters written and signed by his secretaries, form replies to requests for an autograph, and nominations to office submitted to the United States Senate." Here again the editors' decision is a thoroughly sound one. There is no reason why the Statutes at Large should be here reprinted because they happen to bear Lincoln's signature.

Indeed, readers are more likely to complain of the inclusion rather than of the omission of routine items. Surely one might well have left out several dozen purely formal diplomatic dispatches bearing no evidence of having been composed by Lincoln, such as the congratulations sent to Alexander II of Russia (VII, 296) upon the birth of a son named "Pierre to Madame the Grand Duchess Alexandra Petrovna, Spouse of Your Imperial Majestys well beloved brother His Imperial Highness Monseigneur the Grand Duke Nicholas Nicolaewitch" or the condolences offered (VI, 357) upon the demise of "His Royal Hig[h]ness, the Hereditary Prince Frederick Ferdinand, of Denmark."

A more serious objection could be raised to the number of apparently trivial jottings or endorsements by Lincoln here included. Nearly half of the newly published items in the sixth volume (1862-63) are classified as autograph endorsements or autograph endorsements signed, and most of them are not very illuminating. Generally such endorsements tend to read, "I wish this appointment to be made if it can be done consistently" (VI, 10) or "Let this man be enlarged on the same terms and conditions as in Blacks and Spicer's cases" (VII, 448).

While a great deal of tedious and trivial matter has thus been included, reflection tends to vindicate the editors' judgment on this point. Such marginalia offer at times the best clue to the President's thinking. It is not always realized how rarely after 1861 Lincoln made public announcement of his plans and policies; he was a man cautious with words. To be sure, there were the annual and special messages to Congress, but these are often formal and in part they merely summarize his cabinet officers' reports. The President held a strict view of the proprieties imposed by his office. "In my present position," he told a crowd at Frederick, Maryland, in October, 1862 (V, 450), "it is hardly proper for me to make speeches,"

Later, as candidate for re-election, Lincoln put a still further limit upon his public utterances. "I do not really think," he said in June 1864 (VII, 398), "it is proper in my position for me to make a political speech. . . ."

Often, therefore, Lincoln's ideas have to be learned not from his addresses but from his actions. A day-by-day reading of the record, filled as it is with the routine, the inconsequential, and sometimes the incongruous (Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation and an endorsement of a chiropodist on the same day!), gives a fresh insight into the workings of the President's mind and into the development of his policy.

The President's masterly grasp of the political and military realities in the crucial border states, for instance, can properly be appraised not from a reading of his formal proclamations but from a study of his daily handling of the intricate problems of Missouri, with its divided loyalties, its bushwhacking warfare, its maladroitness, its Republican factional feuds, and its stumbling steps toward emancipation. Similarly one has to read the hundreds of telegrams here printed inquiring about soldiers sentenced to death, calling for re-examination of their court-martial records, and commuting or suspending punishment, to comprehend the profound emotion behind Lincoln's anguished endorsement in the case of one deserter: ". . . I am trying to evade the butchering business lately" (VII, 111). On close study even the routine has drama, as in the case of one Presidential pardon (VIII, 203) which reached army headquarters a few hours too late to save a deserter's life.

Fully to understand Lincoln's wartime role, one has not merely to read his few speeches but to watch him daily transacting the exhausting business of his office. The comprehensive coverage of *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* gives the patient reader a chair at the President's side.

Another essential requirement of scholarly editorial work is textual fidelity. In the interest of orthodoxy and uniformity, Nicolay and Hay frequently altered Lincoln's distinctive language, and later students have, of necessity, repeated their errors. Since Lincoln was a man who had definite and individual ideas about phrasing, italics, and paragraphing, such "editorial tidying," as Paul M. Angle describes it, has in many cases "stripped a forceful utterance of much of its original emphasis."

In the present edition, Dr. Basler, Mrs. Pratt, and Mr. Dunlap have tried to present Lincoln's words as he wrote them. Though punctuation has to a very slight degree been normalized (the dash with which Lincoln habitually ended a sentence has been transcribed as a period), the editors claim that their "text is as faithful to the original as we have been able to make it."

Never was a claim more completely justified. The degree of textual accuracy is simply incredible. This reviewer closely collated over one hundred items in *The Collected Works* with manuscript and microfilm originals and detected not a single error in transcription.

Explanatory notes and comments constitute a final major part of an editor's

task. In *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* each item is followed by one or more notes which identify the subject of Lincoln's correspondence, refer to earlier or subsequent communications upon the same topic, and often quote from the letters to which Lincoln was replying. Rather brief in the first four volumes, the notes increase in length and in value through the remainder of the set. The present edition is far more fully, carefully, and accurately annotated than has been any earlier collection of Lincoln's writings, and this tedious task has obviously required an infinite amount of patience and an appalling amount of labor.

Nevertheless, to the present reviewer these notes appear to be the least satisfactory part of Dr. Basler's work. They contain a great many errors, each inconsequential in itself but cumulatively of a good deal of importance. As examples chosen almost at random one notes that Ann Todd, mentioned in a Lincoln letter, is incorrectly identified (I, 325) as the sister of Mary Lincoln; she was a cousin. The Czech free-soiler who settled in Texas should be Anthony Dignowity—not "Dignowitz" (IV, 503). Frederick Law Olmsted has here been transformed (IV, 543) into "Olmstead." The influential Rudolph Schleiden, minister resident from Bremen to the United States, becomes (VI, 51) "R. Schleidu," for whom no identification is offered.

These notes do not exhibit the same careful regard for textual accuracy which is so commendably shown in the reproduction of Lincoln's own words. For example, a note (IV, 322) identifies an applicant for office, Ethelbert P. Oliphant, as asking to be made a judge while complaining: ". . . I think I am deserving of something better. . . ." Actually Oliphant's letter reveals that he had already been offered a minor clerkship, which he had rejected, adding: ". . . I think I am deserving of some thing better than a mere clerkship." Or an endorsement of Lincoln's (IV, 325) is described as "written on the envelope enclosing letters from Horace Greeley, George Opdyke, David D. Field, and James S. Wadsworth," and a passage from "Greeley's" letter is cited. In fact, the envelope contained but a single letter, signed by all four men, and the quotation is from this document.

The difficult problem of correctly placing undated manuscripts is not well handled in these notes. There is, for example, Lincoln's "Reply to Eliza P. Gurney" (V, 478), which the late Professor J. G. Randall thought one of the more significant of the President's statements. The manuscript record of the interview with Mrs. Gurney is undated. Dr. Basler's confused and inaccurate note asserts that Lincoln himself later specified Sunday, September 26, 1862, as the day of the interview; but in fact the Lincoln letter to which reference is made (VII, 535) merely mentions the interview as having occurred "on a Sabbath forenoon two years ago." Curiously enough, Dr. Basler has assigned the correct date to the Gurney interview, October 26, 1862; but its correctness is proved by none of the references included in his note but instead by a contemporary memorandum of Mrs. Hannah B. Mott, now in the possession of Professor Richard Mott Grummere of Harvard University—which is not cited at all.

Where accurate, the editorial notes are often partial or incomplete. Lincoln's "Proclamation concerning Reconstruction" of July 8, 1864 (VII, 433-34) is followed by careful explanations of everything but the one essential thing—that this was a pocket-veto of the Wade-Davis Bill. Or, again, a humorous reference in the Lincoln-Douglas debates to the nonsegregation beliefs of "Judge Douglas' old friend Col. Richard M. Johnson" (III, 146) bears a solemn explanatory note which tells everything about Johnson except the one pertinent fact—his liaison with his mulatto slave, Julia Chinn.

In general, in preparing the annotations the editors seem to have had the specialist and the expert in mind rather than the general reader. A sizable body of detailed information is presupposed, and very rarely is an attempt made to indicate pertinent secondary materials dealing with disputed or significant documents.

These reflections are in no sense intended to detract from the real accomplishment which these volumes represent. Congratulations are due all around: to the Abraham Lincoln Association for supporting so vast and so valuable a project; to the editors for their indefatigable labors; and to the publishers for the presentation of the set in durable and handsome form. The publication of *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* is another evidence that Americans in an era of crisis seek, as Alfred Kazin has observed, "solidly grounded and tirelessly accumulated monuments of historical fact." Surely no American historical monument could be more worthy of reverence than the writings of Abraham Lincoln.

Columbia University

DAVID DONALD

REPORTERS FOR THE UNION. By Bernard A. Weisberger. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1953. Pp. xi, 316. \$4.50.)

LITTLE by little and book by book, the historians are filling the gaps in our knowledge of our most studied war. Recent volumes on medicine and ordnance and now Professor Weisberger's treatment of the Northern reporters show that the scholars are shifting their research interests from battles and politics to other equally important segments of the Civil War which have been neglected or underrated in the past. By any standards, Mr. Weisberger's book is a fine contribution to the literature of military history. Not only does it open what is partly a new research area but it is written with unusual literary grace and with rare analytical acumen. If Professor Weisberger can sustain his present pace in future works, he should go far. One cannot help venturing the hope that some day he will do a comprehensive book on the press of both sections during the war.

Mr. Weisberger's thesis is that in the 1850's and particularly in the war reporters became professionals. Before they had been amateurs, scribblers, propagandists. The events of the sectional controversy, especially the struggle in Kansas, changed many things in America, including journalism. Millions of Americans wanted to know about what was happening here and in other countries. So the



reporter, the correspondent who went to the scene and described what he saw and what it meant, was born.

By 1860 the reporters were becoming professionals, were approaching the point of having a status in American society. The Civil War accelerated without completing the transition to professionalism. To the reporters the war was a challenge and an opportunity. It was the story of the century; it offered great scenes to describe and explain. It also presented new barriers to the freedom of journalistic expression. For the first time reporters confronted the problem of censorship, sometimes exercised by the national government, sometimes by irate generals who on occasion threatened to hang reporters who had divulged military secrets in their stories. By their attempts to solve the problem, by their standing together as a group against the generals, the reporters learned much about wartime reporting and helped endow themselves with status.

Despite all he says about the trend to professionalism, Mr. Weisberger knows well the faults and shortcomings of the Union reporters. They slanted their stories to suit their editors' prejudices; they invented news when none existed; they wrote an awful, turgid prose. In general, their dispatches are unreliable sources for the historian. Yet here and there appeared a few accounts written in the realistic, concise style of the modern reporter. The promise of the new profession was there. And through their work the reporters had created a new relationship between the world, the reporter, and the reader that would endure. As Mr. Weisberger concludes, "still one more feature of modern times had been unveiled as a surprise result of the war for the Union."

*Louisiana State University*

T. HARRY WILLIAMS

BOURBON DEMOCRACY OF THE MIDDLE WEST, 1865-1896. By *Horace Samuel Merrill*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953. Pp. viii, 300. \$4.50.)

THIS is a study of the dominant conservative influence within the Democratic party in the Middle West and East in the three decades after the Civil War. The author employs the term Bourbon to identify and characterize the post-Civil War Democratic leaders because they were wealthy, self-esteeming, self-appointed guardians of the interests of big business. They were protectors of the northern industrial and financial groups who wanted to direct the economic policies of the nation so that they could acquire for themselves the profits accruing from the rapid industrialization of the country.

The business groups needed political friends in both the major parties to carry out their plans. The political situation at the end of the war favored their designs. They had many friends in the Radical faction of the Republican party who during the war had demonstrated their willingness to aid and protect the



business elements. The Democratic party was disorganized and discredited. The only possible threat to the entrepreneurs was the revival of the Democratic party once more as the champion of the little men.

As long as the Democratic party centered its attention upon southern reconstruction it was no obstacle to the business tycoons for they could count on the Republican party remaining the dominant party in state and national politics by waving the "bloody shirt." When, however, midwestern agrarians began to agitate for cheap money, reduction of the tariff, and regulation of railroads and industrial monopolies it frightened the business interests and their conservative friends within the Democratic party, both of whom were anxious to maintain the economic status quo. Accordingly New York Bourbon Democrats made alliances with like-minded midwestern Bourbon leaders to sit on the lid of agrarian radicals and organized labor in their respective states in order to prevent them from gaining control of the state and national Democratic organizations.

Hard times, the maladministration of the Grant regime, and the do-nothing policy of the Republican party to alleviate farmer and labor injustices enabled the Democratic party to gain control of the national government under the conservative leader, Grover Cleveland. Cleveland stood for honesty in government, a sound currency, big business, and the Democratic party. An outstanding midwestern Bourbon, W. F. Vilas of Wisconsin, as Postmaster General and later as Secretary of the Interior, used his power of patronage to help build up the Democratic party and to aid lumber interests in acquiring valuable tracts of land. The Democrats lost the election of 1888; but the blunders of the Harrison administration returned them again to power. The hard times following the panic of 1893 gave an impetus to the Populist movement and Bryan's crusade for the underdog. But the power of industrial America crushed Bryanism in the critical election of 1896. Since then conservative Democrats, the author claims, have never been happy in the party of Jefferson, Jackson, Altgeld, Bryan, Wilson, or Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The author has based his study upon an extensive use of manuscript collections. He has given particular attention to the fortunes of the Democratic party in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Nebraska, Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin and the part played by conservative Democrats in the local and national elections in these states. He is extremely caustic about "fence sitting politicians," "putty minded members of Congress," "Bull-dog Olney," "railroad attorney, lumber magnate, lid-sitting Vilas," and the "sham battles" for tariff reform which he says the Bourbon Democrats staged. But he does not give Cleveland due credit for introducing a new moral tone in government, nor Cleveland's work in his first term to check fraudulent claims to western lands. Certainly Cleveland's courageous stand against the abandonment of the gold standard materially saved the nation from severe losses and possibly economic chaos. It was the "Cullom" not the "Cullum" bill that was passed.

*University of Cincinnati*

REGINALD C. McGRANE

THE ELECTRICAL MANUFACTURERS, 1875-1900: A STUDY IN COMPETITION, ENTREPRENEURSHIP, TECHNICAL CHANGE, AND ECONOMIC GROWTH. By *Harold C. Passer*. [Studies in Entrepreneurial History.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1953. Pp. xvii, 412. \$6.00.)

ALTHOUGH the author of this interesting volume was trained both in the economics and the physics of his subject, he has given us something more than a technical and economic history of the electrical business. Here is a study of an industry based on a new technology, which grew in a brief quarter century into a hundred million dollar enterprise and which had a vast influence on the American way of life.

In this study, the author traces the scientific background, largely emanating from Europe, for the new technology, giving the technological developments that preceded the commercial establishment. He presents the contributions of the engineer-entrepreneurs, the key men with technical training, who saw the commercial possibilities in the application of scientific principles and who labored to perfect usable products and techniques, noting the effect of the personalities of such men as Edison, Westinghouse, Brush, Thomson, Weston, and others. He analyzes the market forces and the competition between the firms that arose, and points out the factors that led to oligopoly and finally duopoly in the industry.

The volume is limited to a study of the manufacture of apparatus for lighting and power, and follows the chronological order of development from the first relatively simple arc-lighting industry, through the more complex incandescent-lighting with the establishment of the central station, to the highly technical application of electric power to industry and traction. But the evolution of the industry with its dual emphasis on technology and economics is only a part of the report. The author finds in his study of electrical manufacturers a pattern for suggestions for public policies in modern economic markets.

The example of the electrical industry reveals that industrial markets should be free and the test of the soundness of the ideas of an engineer-entrepreneur is its acceptance in the public market. It was the consumers that proved Edison right and his critics wrong. Likewise consumers proved Westinghouse right in advocating the alternating current and his critics, among whom was Edison himself, wrong.

The study shows that the combination of related firms into an oligopoly or even a duopoly does not destroy competition but that mass production, by creating a demand for quantity supply, insures lower prices, and that technical changes in the product wherever reasonably rapid provide their own competition. The patent agreement between Westinghouse and General Electric hastened the trend toward duopoly, yet the economic growth of the firms meant an increase in sales, assets, employees, physical capacity, profits, number of products manufactured, and a lowering of price to the consumer.

The position of the engineer-entrepreneur as contrasted with the capitalist or the promoter on the one side and the scientist and the inventor on the other is defined. The engineer-entrepreneur is one who visualizes a place in the economy that his product will occupy. He determines the features essential to commercial success. He invents a product that will fit these features. In addition he designs machinery to make his product, finds raw materials, trains workmen, and with this all done he goes out and creates markets. Once the product is established, the entrepreneur is no longer the key person in the industry. In the long run, it is through this entrepreneur, this application of science to industry, that the economic welfare of the country is developed and the national income increased. It is not through better administration of existing resources or a change in the distribution of income. This kind of entrepreneurship, the author concludes, has become increasingly important as the advances in science have made available new knowledge, new products, new resources.

*University of Pittsburgh*

JESSAMINE D. LEWIS

THE LIFE OF ARCHBISHOP JOHN IRELAND. By *James H. Moynihan*.  
(New York: Harper and Brothers. 1953. Pp. xii, 441. \$5.00.)

APPEARING shortly after the publication of Ellis' definitive biography of Cardinal Gibbons, this account of the career of Archbishop John Ireland serves to round out in large measure the story of American Catholic development between the Civil War and the First World War. These two men worked together harmoniously in many ways, although they were almost totally unlike one another in physique, in temperament, and in their methods of operation. Yet both were admired by their contemporaries as exponents of the same philosophy—a firm and active belief in the complete compatibility of American political doctrines and of Roman religious doctrines. Each epitomized for many of their fellow citizens of varied religious affiliation the best in the American Catholic tradition.

This biography suffers from certain defects which were almost unavoidable. Ireland was a man of action—blunt, forthright, voluble, and sometimes truculent. His opinions in matters of politics (civil or ecclesiastical), in matters of church administration, or indeed in any matter, were expressed with forceful directness and frequently with negligible concern for the feelings or opinions of those who differed with him. His tastes were as catholic as his religion. Side by side in his nature dwelt a great love for the odes of Horace, an intense interest in the techniques of labor organization, an abhorrence of the evils of drink, a tremendous concern with the lot of the immigrant, a deep understanding of educational methods and a zeal for their improvement, a considerable understanding of international politics, and a complete personal unpretentiousness. Such a man inevitably found himself involved in affairs (and disputes) of widely varied

character. The lot of a biographer trying to unravel the essential and important threads of motivation and conduct from the overwhelming tangle of detail in the life of such a man is not a happy one. Father Moynihan has tried nobly but has not completely succeeded in making his biography a unified whole. It strikes the reader as episodic. It is almost exclusively the story of Archbishop Ireland's work as distinguished from his life as a man. Where the archbishop himself occasionally reveals his own feelings in personal letters to friends there is a touch of the human being as distinct from the ecclesiastical dignitary. Otherwise he appears through the occasional comments of his biographer as that most unique of mortals—the man without defects or weaknesses. Ireland had in fact both, yet so really fine were his ideals, so fair and courageous was his philosophy of life that, from his public and private statements—from the countless documents in which they are to be found—there emerges the picture of a man who was a “personage” in the fullest sense of that word.

The church historian will welcome the new materials (particularly from the St. Paul Archdiocesan Archives and from the archives of the Diocese of Richmond) which are used generously in this book. Many of the problems which the archbishop had to meet have been separately treated in other works. Several of the chapters in this biography are consequently somewhat repetitive. It is regrettable that the existence of such supplementary volumes has not enabled Father Moynihan to center his attention a bit more on Ireland rather than on the problems with which Ireland deals. This may be an unkind criticism, but it arises from a conviction that Ireland's personality was of such stature that it was worth studying for itself alone. This book was needed, it is one historians should be happy to have, but it does not match its subject.

*Hunter College*

JOHN J. MENG

WILLIAM L. WILSON AND TARIFF REFORM: A BIOGRAPHY. By Festus P. Summers. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1953. Pp. xi, 288. \$5.00.)

THIS book is a valuable addition to the biographies of the Cleveland era, of which there are many, although hitherto none of William L. Wilson, congressional leader and cabinet member. The Wilson Papers, especially the diary, which Wilson started when he entered the Confederate Army, form the basis for this study. Except for the period of the postmaster generalship there are no letter books, but the author, diligently searching the papers of contemporaries, found many of Wilson's letters.

The book is broader in scope than its title indicates. It is not a monograph on the Wilson-Gorman tariff but a political biography of William L. Wilson. The first three chapters are devoted to his early life, his education, his army service,

and his early career as educator, lawyer, and "scholar in politics." The book concludes with two short chapters on Wilson's postmaster generalship and a brief sketch of his presidency of Washington and Lee.

Two thirds of the book are devoted to Wilson's years in Congress (1883-1895), during which time his attention was centered on the tariff issue. His first act as congressman was to cast his vote in the speakership contest for Carlisle, candidate of free traders; this in spite of being warned that "no representative could win renomination in the Second West Virginia District after having supported Carlisle" (pp. 53-54). Wilson gradually formulated his political philosophy, "a compound of nineteenth century individualism as enunciated by Thomas Jefferson . . . ; of the laissez-faire doctrines of Adam Smith . . . ; and by no means last, of social Darwinism as elucidated by Herbert Spencer" (p. 95). He deplored the increasing paternalism of the federal government which through the protective tariff was building up industrial trusts and endangering individual liberty.

Mr. Summers begins each chapter with an excellent analysis of existing political and economic conditions, based on a comprehensive study of periodical literature and monographs. He then depicts Wilson's activities in legislative battles, political campaigns, and as "intellectual spokesman of the reform Democracy" (p. 93). The chapters on the Democratic convention of 1892, over which Wilson presided, and his campaign to obtain the passage of a low tariff measure in 1894 are particularly exciting. It is regrettable that Wilson was so busy at that time making history that he neglected to record the details in his diary. With the issue of executive leadership so prominent today it is interesting to note that Wilson put much of the blame for the failure of the Senate to pass the Wilson bill on President Cleveland's political ineptness.

This book is carefully prepared; footnotes and quotations are accurate, and the index good.

*Hunter College*

DOROTHY GANFIELD FOWLER

IMPATIENT CRUSADER: FLORENCE KELLEY'S LIFE STORY. By Josephine Goldmark. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1953. Pp. xii, 217. \$3.50.)

A MORE sympathetic biographer for the late Florence Kelley could scarcely have been found than the scholarly woman who was her co-worker during thirty of the forty years of her immensely active public career. Josephine Goldmark's life of Mrs. Kelley is fine alike for the delicacy of its insight into her colleague's basic motivations and for its tact in presenting the controversial aspects of her life and of the important legislative reforms in which she played a decisive role. Miss Goldmark died in 1950 while the biography was undergoing final revision. Her niece, Elizabeth Brandeis, completed the final revision and added a brief preface.

Florence Kelley died in 1932 on the eve of the era which witnessed the consummation of the social and economic reforms she helped launch two or three decades before. In his foreword, Justice Felix Frankfurter credits her with "probably the largest single share in shaping the social history of the United States during the first thirty years of this century." We do not minimize her achievement by amending this to say that she was undoubtedly the nerve center for the *collective* effort which brought about a social revolution in this country. Her power lay in her capacity to draw a horrifying indictment of the accumulated evils and social waste of modern industrial society and to humanize issues so they found painful lodgment in the public consciousness and thus could be readily transferred to the field of political action.

Born in Philadelphia in 1859, Mrs. Kelley's ancestry was a blend of Quaker, Protestant Irish, and Huguenot. Her father was the dominant influence in her life—"Pig Iron" Kelley—for thirty years a congressman and still remembered as an ardent champion of woman suffrage and a high tariff. He gave his daughter a sound political education and sent her to Cornell and the University of Zurich for more formal learning. In 1891 she joined Jane Addams at Hull House. With her sophisticated background and education, she became an effective social investigator. In 1893 Governor Altgeld named her director of Illinois' new Factory Inspection Department, making her the first woman to hold an important state office in this country and the first social investigator to be entrusted with the administration of a factory law.

In 1899 Mrs. Kelley became general secretary of the newly organized National Consumers' League, a small group of liberal-minded men and women determined to secure legislative remedies for industrial ills. For thirty years Florence Kelley was the Consumers' League, phrasing its program and exercising general leadership through co-operation with other organizations. Through her efforts the consumer entered politics. She educated the consuming public, especially the female half of it, to be curious about the lives and working conditions of those who made the merchandise they bought and finally aware of certain responsibilities toward them. It was the pressure of consumers on legislatures which helped put sweatshops out of business, abolished child labor, and created general public acceptance of the fact that the relation between employer and employee is not a purely private contract but is tinged at every point with public interest.

Mrs. Kelley's career reflects the complex intertwining of the humanitarian, feminist, labor, and progressive movements. As Paul Kellogg observed, she personified the "quickenings of women's concern for the humanizing of industry" in an era when labor's relation to society was undergoing swift change. The feminist movement in the United States, in contrast with that in Europe, developed a total concern for the weak against the strong: for children first of all; for girls and women too weak to assert their own rights; for immigrants exploited because of their ignorance; for the underprivileged generally. A remarkable band

of middle-class women with a strong sense of personal security led the way, and in their train marched millions of others in the network of women's organizations. It was thus that the wide variety of specific social reforms became legislative items on their programs of action.

No student of social history can afford to overlook this factual account of the genesis of several aspects of the contemporary social welfare state. That having to do with child welfare, in particular, makes certain sections of Herbert Hoover's *Memoirs* very curious reading. Mrs. Kelley felt that her most significant accomplishments were those connected with child welfare: the establishment of the Children's Bureau, the Shephard-Towner Act which laid the foundations for social security, and the abolition of child labor.

This book might well have been longer. A more ample use of Mrs. Kelley's reports, letters, and public statements would have conveyed a clearer sense of her compelling personality and intellectual power. Like Jane Addams, she is in danger of being remembered only as an institution. Miss Goldmark tends to scamp somewhat the treatment of those events in which she herself played a major role, such as the case of *Muller vs. Oregon*, in which her brother-in-law, Louis Brandeis, successfully defended Oregon's ten-hour law for women workers before the United States Supreme Court and made judicial history with his "factual brief," prepared by Miss Goldmark, Mrs. Kelley, and their associates.

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LOUISE M. YOUNG

STUDY IN POWER: JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, INDUSTRIALIST AND PHILANTHROPIST. By *Allan Nevins*. In two volumes. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1953. Pp. xv, 441; x, 501. \$10.00.)

WHEN Allan Nevins published his two-volume biography of Rockefeller in 1940 (*John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise*), it was hailed as a major effort, essential to any study of Rockefeller and the Standard Oil (*AHR*, October, 1941, pp. 163-65). Making use of the Rockefeller and the Standard Oil papers, which had just been made available, Professor Nevins, in some 1,400 pages of text, reviewed one of the most significant careers in American history. Now, in 1953 he presents us with a second two-volume biography of Rockefeller (*John D. Rockefeller, Industrialist and Philanthropist*). The publication, thirteen years later, of this second study is in part attributable to the fact that the first one went out of print and in part to the fortunate discovery of an immense additional body of correspondence, long thought lost, which illuminates in more detail the early organization of the oil industry and the Rockefeller benefactions.

Though based primarily on the same data as the first study, this is in great degree a new book. Besides containing new and significant material, the second study has been largely rewritten and the text condensed by some five hundred



pages. Family history, Rockefeller's youth and early career, and nonessential material have been considerably deleted. In the 1940 work, for example, there are over 280 pages of material before the founding of the Standard Oil Company in 1870. The present study achieves this on page 83. These and other equally judicious cuttings have improved the whole study by making it more tightly knit and more completely absorbing.

Much has been written about Rockefeller. No biography of the man, nor any study of the Standard Oil Company, will satisfy everyone. Allan Nevins' latest biography is no exception. There are those who maintain, and will probably continue to do so even after reading this work, that the strength and success of Rockefeller and the Standard Oil Company were the result of monopoly position and business practices which were ruthless, if not wicked and ferociously greedy. On the other hand, Professor Nevins does very well to show that Rockefeller lived in a time of constant and rapid change and worked in an industry which in his day grew from an insignificant to an indispensable element in the world economy. To be sure, there were many important mechanical, scientific, and technical factors that went into the making of the oil industry. The tremendous increase in demand cannot be, and it is not, minimized. Professor Nevins gives all of these factors due consideration. But he goes further. He analyzes and evaluates the part that business leadership—daring, resourceful, and energetic leadership—played in the development of vertical integration, when it was still a novelty in business. Rockefeller's capacity lay in planning and in organization. He had both insight and foresight. He analyzed correctly and had an infinite capacity for detail, a quality which led Ida Tarbell to say that Rockefeller had "the soul of a bookkeeper." But, as this study indicates, Rockefeller also had foresight, the wisdom of seeing what lies ahead and the ability to choose competent and energetic subordinates. Here is an outstanding example of the business organizer *par excellence*. To some students of economic history, Rockefeller's greatest contribution to American business was his ability to integrate and to exercise effective control over the numerous and widespread functions of his enterprise. This combination of characteristics, as well as superior administrative ability, has led some students of business history to classify Rockefeller as a rare business genius. Employing these very same qualities which made him one of the most impressive industrialists of his era, Rockefeller donated over a half billion dollars wisely and to good causes and established a model for all philanthropists who followed him.

Professor Nevins' latest biography of Rockefeller appears dispassionate in its efforts to get at the truth. It neither damns Rockefeller as a robber baron nor does it sanctify him; it neither hesitates to criticize the business practices of Rockefeller nor those of the Standard Oil Company. Such criticisms recur time and again. For example, Professor Nevins does not fail to indicate how Rockefeller employed rebates, drawbacks, monopoly, ruthlessness, secrecy, and, at times, even duplicity to achieve his ends. All the while he remained "a fervent Christian, unhesitant in

his devotion to the church and its ethical principles." Nor does Professor Nevins fail to indicate that such business practices, though certainly no monopoly of Rockefeller and the Standard Oil, were wholly indefensible, and that "any comprehensive judgment on Rockefeller's business career must be subjective and dependent upon the economic assumptions brought to the judgment-bar" (II, 433).

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VINCENT P. CAROSSO

THE LETTERS OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT. Volumes V and VI, THE BIG STICK, 1905-1907. Selected and Edited by *Elting E. Morison, et al.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1952. Pp. xxiv, 864; vi, 865-1715. \$20.00.)

THESE two volumes cover the second administration of Theodore Roosevelt. Their editing reveals the faults and virtues of the earlier volumes. The letters are reproduced with an accuracy that sets a high standard for future editors. The index, still somewhat inadequate on subject headings, is full and accurate in regard to names, and superior to most indexes. Strangely, Hermann Speck von Sternberg is still indexed under "Sternberg" instead of "Speck" where he belongs, but unlike the first two volumes these do give a cross reference from "Speck" to "Sternberg." The chronological table, still without acknowledgment to Nora Cordingley's painstaking work, is most valuable. Trying to compress the multifarious activities of Roosevelt's career, chronologically treated, into oversimplified subject headings accomplishes little but to create a false impression. One wonders again why the editor, omitting as he does many important letters, takes 1,734 valuable lines to repeat "Roosevelt Manuscripts" at the top of each letter. Since he cites another location in only 9 out of 1,743 cases, certainly one line at the beginning could have told that, unless otherwise noted, the letters were all in the Roosevelt Papers. More important, however, the reader would like to know what Morison could have used these lines to tell, namely, where the original rather than the copy is located. Roosevelt emended his letters with his pen as he signed them and the changes did not always get into a letterpress copybook. No careful worker wants to use a copy when he can see the original, and in many cases Morison, who searched diligently for Roosevelt originals, must have had both available. Because of this strange failure to cite the collection where the original is located, the knowledge Morison had will now never be preserved.

Again one wonders, too, when the originals were available, why Morison gave us some twenty important letters to people like Cleveland, Charles Eliot, Harri-man, Taft, Ambassador Meyer, Speck von Sternberg, Takahira, and Kaneko from copies Roosevelt later had typed to send to other people. This use of Roosevelt's stenographer's later copy of a letter instead of the original led Morison into the same error Henry F. Pringle made of ascribing to Roosevelt a portion of

a letter from Sternberg. Roosevelt later had the Sternberg epistle incorporated in quotation into a letter to Whitelaw Reid. Pringle used the Reid letter as printed by Joseph B. Bishop to prove that, because Roosevelt misused the name of the British delegate to the Algeciras Conference and wrote "Sir E. Nicholson" instead of "Sir A. Nicolson," he could not have been in close touch with that conference. In a footnote Morison rightly contradicts Pringle and argues that Roosevelt was in close contact but seeks to refute Pringle's argument by insisting Roosevelt was always careless about names. By looking in the Roosevelt Papers at the original letter from Speck, both Morison and Pringle could have discovered that the name was "E. Nicholson" for the simple reason that Speck spelled it that way and Roosevelt had his stenographer copy Speck's letter into his letter to Reid where both Pringle and Morison mistook Speck's spelling for Roosevelt's.

Morison's footnotes are admirably done. Not only do they identify people the reader needs to know but they frequently give portions of in-letters, speeches, newspaper and periodical quotations, comments from other books on Roosevelt, and government reports. They even supply a few otherwise unprinted Roosevelt letters and excerpts from pertinent messages to Congress. Several long footnotes give masterful brief accounts of such episodes as the financial panic and the break with Hitchcock. Footnotes occasionally state earlier interpretations and show how letters here available overturn an earlier interpretation. Yet one might wish that Morison had gone even further in some of these footnotes. For instance, he points out that we must now revise the judgment of Howard C. Hill's scholarly work, taken over by Pringle and others from Hill, that Roosevelt in a letter to William R. Thayer during the war invented the story of his ultimatum to the kaiser in the Venezuelan crisis under the spell of his wartime hatred of Germany. Morison points out that letters here printed show that a basis for the later story appeared in less elaborate form much nearer the event. Morison might, however, have revised the story still further had he looked at manuscript letters Thayer did not publish that he and Roosevelt exchanged at the time Roosevelt wrote for Thayer the account dubbed a falsehood by Hill and Pringle. Furthermore two Lodge diary entries show that Roosevelt decided in 1907 he would probably have to run for a third term after all and then three weeks later returned to a determination not to accept a nomination. These would have made a most interesting footnote to letters dealing with the third-term idea. Besides, perusal of the dispatches printed in *Die Grosse Politik* showing the German side of the picture would have provided an explanatory footnote to the Algeciras correspondence with Speck and the kaiser more interesting and important than most of Morison's footnotes.

Roosevelt had a habit of writing in letters to friends long accounts of important events in which he had been an actor or his version of controversies. In these letters he incorporated as documentation copies of other items. Morison interpreted his admirable rule that he would publish all or none of a letter to

mean he must include all of the documentation in this sort of letter. Hence in these two volumes are published as part of Roosevelt's letters portions of a senatorial resolution, a hearing, a court decision, two messages to Congress, three statements of prominent men, five speeches, six newspaper items, and half a dozen government reports. Published, too, in this manner are not only the twenty letters of Roosevelt earlier mentioned, but fifty-five in-letters that Roosevelt thought important to an understanding of some letter and twenty-two letters from some one else to a third party. These letters included by Roosevelt's instruction are so important that they raise the question whether a work that does not include certain important in-letters can be thoroughly satisfactory. In a number of instances Roosevelt's letters would have acquired much more significance had they been accompanied by excerpts from the letters they answered.

Again the problem of selection arises. The publication is too full for many to sit down and read, though to do so is an enlightening and exciting experience. Yet the selection is not full enough to make the collection adequate for research. Scholars will still have to go to the manuscripts. A few examples will suffice. Six letters are omitted that seem to the reviewer necessary to study Roosevelt's views on labor, four dealing with labor's political power, four on his relations with labor leaders, nine concerning strikes, and eight discussing the Moyer-Haywood trial. On the Pure Food Act the reviewer found two missing that he would want to see, six on the oil trust, and twenty-five on the meat packers. Eight letters on the Brownsville episode that seemed important are not printed and five giving Roosevelt's views on the Negro. Five others that throw light on Roosevelt's relations with Lodge are wanting and the reviewer has forty-nine on Hughes and Roosevelt's relations with him that Morison omitted. On Santo Domingo one and on Puerto Rico four letters were dropped that seem important. Eight dealing with the financial panic could not be found. These missing letters are to men like financiers August Belmont and Elbert H. Gary, editors Lawrence F. and Lyman Abbott and William Allen White, labor leader John Mitchell, Commissioner of Labor Charles Neill, lawyers Henry L. Stimson and Henry W. Taft, muckrakers Ray Stannard Baker and Upton Sinclair, college presidents Butler, Eliot, and Low, governors Guild of Massachusetts and Gooding of Idaho, cabinet members Charles Bonaparte, James Garfield, Paul Morton, Oscar Straus, and William Taft, Speaker of the House Uncle Joe Cannon, and senators Culom, Foraker, and Lodge. One absent letter about Gorki is revealing of Roosevelt's opinion of Gorki and of revolution. One of the letters makes clear that, though Roosevelt despised Moyer and Haywood, he was determined to have them convicted, if convicted they were, not because they were "desperate characters" but for the murder he thought they had committed. Another letter showed Roosevelt shocked over the possibility that the governor of Idaho had accepted contributions toward their prosecution from mineowners, thus destroying government's impartiality. A most interesting letter to Taft is omitted

instructing him to go to Canton, China, to try to break the boycott. So, too, is a letter asking Booker Washington for corrections and suggestions about a speech enclosed to him. Missing, too, is one of the most magnificent letters Roosevelt ever dictated, analyzing with keen perception the relation of rape, lynching, and social equality, pointing out that rape was not the most important cause of lynchings. Missing, too, is an expression of discouragement over solving the race question and a recognition that the problem existed North as well as South. Morison does print, however, the long-suppressed letter of Roosevelt to Lodge about Hay. At the suggestion of Mrs. Lodge, Pringle's permission to use it was withdrawn by telegraph and Mrs. Roosevelt in 1931 had the letter sewed up in the copybook for ten years. Tyler Dennett, who had seen it, had to refer to it as "an unidentified source." In 1940 James Garfield, speaking with Mrs. Roosevelt's authority, had the cloture extended until 1950. Now at last it is available and well worth reading.

Three appendixes add greatly to the volumes. Roosevelt's message of January 31, 1908, printed in full, is wisely chosen, for it is significant and reveals better than any other one document where he stood at the end of his presidency. The carefully written analysis of Roosevelt's administering of the building of the Canal, culled by Alfred Chandler from countless letters and reports is an important contribution. And the essay by John Blum on railroad regulation not only corrects the false view popular among historians of Roosevelt's relation to the Hepburn Act and to legislation in general but in itself, like Blum's essay in an earlier volume, is a brilliant bit of historical analysis.

Then there is Elting Morison's preface. His characterizations are many of them good. Morison has described well both Roosevelt's strengths and his weaknesses, and Roosevelt was full of weaknesses and foibles. Yet the net result is a false picture that places Morison with the depreciators of the thirties who in their disillusionment tended to cast the Progressive era aside as noisy and colorful but relatively unimportant. If his verdict on Roosevelt were sound then there would seem little justification for having wasted the time and money expended on these volumes. Morison seems to accept, though with caution, the judgment that the Roosevelt era was one of "sound and movement signifying little," that the stature of Roosevelt is diminishing year by year, and that Roosevelt may be "sent to lie in the dark with Franklin Pierce and Millard Fillmore." Morison finds Roosevelt devoid of any "philosophic interpretation of the meaning of life," governed by intuition, absorbed in action, without any "body of principled theory," and hence unimportant for the future. One wonders how many leaders, American or foreign, before or since, would stand up if judged by Morison's standard. Would Lincoln or Franklin Roosevelt or Washington?

Actually these letters have revealed a man of unusual training and intelligence and catholicity of taste and interest that gave him a breadth of knowledge equaled by few public men. He understood the history he was helping make as few men do; he showed prophetic qualities in both domestic and foreign mat-

ters that are at times uncanny. He was no original thinker, but he had read widely in the men who made seeking an "interpretation of life" their chief concern. He understood modern industrialism and the changes in American life and thought it was bringing. He early learned how politics works and came to understand the tie-up of business and politics. He managed with considerable adroitness a Congress controlled by men who thought him a radical and who opposed much that he wanted. He exhibited capacity to grow with changing times. He early recognized the need for conserving what resources we had not squandered and in the popular mind became the founder of the conservation movement. He did much to promote the view that there is a public interest and that it is the business of the state to provide impartially for the welfare of the people. He advocated ahead of his time much that came only thirty years later. Without his work the New Deal could scarcely have come. It is popular to scoff at his judgments of people and events in terms of "good" and "bad." Yet the integrity he symbolized and strove for could well be revived. These letters do reveal ideas expressed too simply for historians or philosophers to recognize them as political philosophy, which none the less constitute a definite philosophy of middle-of-the-roadism and balance. Roosevelt understood the conflicting forces and interests that composed American society and set up as his ideal a balance among them in which each would get fair treatment and none would dominate, with an over-all "public interest" recognized as more important than any group or class interest.

In foreign affairs, too, he was prophetic. Long before most Americans he saw that America was inextricably involved in the world and he set about trying to order that world. He helped create an Anglo-American entente, which has dominated our foreign policy ever since. He foresaw and sought to play a part in the gradual "civilizing" of "backward peoples." He understood the rivalries of the Far East and of Europe and sought on a world scene by highly personal diplomacy to maintain a balance that would prevent the world war he foresaw. If his solutions were faulty and his successes small he still understood the problems that it took most Americans thirty years more and a world war and world depression to perceive. He showed abilities equal to those of other statesmen of his day in trying to solve the problems. Whether the problems were solved or not would be fateful for the world.

*University of Wisconsin*

HOWARD K. BEALE

ECONOMICS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE: ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECTS OF THE EMPLOYMENT ACT. By *Edwin G. Nourse*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1953. Pp. xi, 511. \$6.00.)

As long ago as 1931 Charles A. Beard set forth some arresting notions of history as actuality in an address titled "A Historian's Quest for Light." Waste-



fully hidden in the *Proceedings* of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland (No. 29, 1931, pp. 12–21) these stimulating observations might well be uncovered today, as historians confront tasks of selection and synthesis so enormous as to be appalling. One of the most mountainous areas which the historians of the twentieth century must explore is the rugged terrain of political reactions to economic instability.

As such reactions have become a major consideration in statecraft, they rudely thrust historians into the field of economics whilst economists assume roles in the making of history. Both attest that the problem of full employment in a free society has become, since 1929, an over-riding, world-wide consideration. Upon executive policy in all important capitals it has drastic effects.

Drastic effects, at either end of Pennsylvania Avenue, have inspired numerous officials, participating in the struggle for stability, to function as historians in the hope that the record of their strivings may advance the over-all objective. Their writings have contrasted sharply in scope and historical value, as any historian must have noted if he has examined critically such widely varying treatments, for example, as that of Marriner Eccles of the Federal Reserve Board (*Beckoning Frontiers*, 1951): Cordell Hull of the State Department (*Memoirs*, 2 vols., 1948): and Raymond Moley and James P. Warburg of the early Rooseveltian entourage (*After Seven Years*, 1939, and *The Money Muddle*, 1934).

Not least among conscientious officials who strove during office to “capture and record” was Edwin G. Nourse, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, August, 1946–November, 1949. He kept a personal diary during that council experience to which this book is devoted; furthermore he generously offers to make his diary available now to serious scholars.

The book opens with a six-chapter introduction including views on the nexus between economics and politics couched in general, impersonal terms, and a rapid summary of our government’s experiments with stabilization instruments during the three decades prior to the 1946 act. The main section, of ten chapters, gets on with the council and its associates.

In the “Full Employment” Act of 1946 Congress specified three instrumentalities to function toward the goal of economic stability: the “Council of Economic Advisers” to the President, the President’s annual “Economic Report” to the Congress, and the “Joint Committee of Congress on the Economic Report.” Mr. Nourse therefore had to include with his council narrative portrayal of the council’s relationship to the other two instrumentalities—a difficult assignment. He decided to treat each of the three, as separately as possible, in four sequences: during 1946–1947, during 1948–1949 up to his withdrawal from the chairmanship at the end of October; from his retirement to the end of 1952 when the council was expiring from congressional malnutrition, and in a summary section which evaluates each instrument in the light of their joint responsibilities. This final section includes also a chapter on Congress’ intent in passing the act, for



which topic one should read also Stephen K. Bailey's plain-spoken *Congress Makes a Law* (1950), and a final chapter on the possibility of further progress. A lengthy appendix provides press comment, staff plans, the text of Nourse's refusal to testify before the Joint Committee, and three of his public addresses. A copious selection of long quotations inserted throughout adds to the bulk. The index is remarkably satisfactory despite its brevity.

Like other earnest participants in American fumbling for stability, Nourse concludes that our record, thus far, is largely one of failure. He indicates that American leadership has proved woefully inadequate to the task of awakening the nation to the need of adapting our governmental structure and our political mores to our actual economic predicament, domestic and international. Though Congress occasionally takes a step forward, as in its trail-breaking 1946 act, its mandates are imprecise, contradictory, and unimplemented. Special interests thrust aside the general welfare. The nation remains unhurried and not too continuously concerned, though time is of the essence.

The time was not auspicious for the kind of professional, detached effectiveness which the chairman envisaged. The experience was excessively painful to a gentleman of strong convictions on the policies essential for stability. His determined efforts at restraint in describing it make the frustration all the more pervasive. In numerous categories, carefully qualified and hedged, reasons are found for the principal handicaps to American realization of self-identification with the twentieth-century world. Two of the most frequently recurring elements, implicitly as well as explicitly obtrusive, are the inability of economists to agree among themselves and the obscurantism which befalls economic objectives as politics is enlisted in their realization.

This book is important and valuable to historians. However, its arrangement may seem unfortunate to readers hard-pressed for time. It is marked by fragmentation, repetition, some over-reticence, and numerous over-long quotations. At various points this reviewer was reminded anew of a troublesome, recurring doubt: are social scientists, as a class, in danger of losing their power to communicate effectively? The practice of the art of history is not to be easily learned, as we all know, and we are abundantly appreciative of these cross-disciplinary undertakings.

*Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

THE REFUGEE INTELLECTUAL: THE AMERICANIZATION OF THE IMMIGRANTS OF 1933-1941. By *Donald Peterson Kent*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1953. Pp. xx, 317. \$5.00.)

THE migratory wave which reached this side of the Atlantic in the years preceding World War II had a sociological structure distinctly different from

former immigrant movements. Its core was comprised of the victims of totalitarian oppression based on racial as well as on political and ideological grounds; moreover, these victims were to a high degree professionally trained men and women with unusual records of intellectual achievement in the fields of exact research and the humanities, the arts and the social sciences. It is hardly necessary to point to great names and Nobel Prize winners in order to prove this fact: the intellectual average of the hundred thousands of newcomers was probably higher than that of any other group previously admitted to the United States.

Mr. Kent has chosen for his study, the refugee intellectual and his Americanization in the years 1933-1941, a fascinating chapter in the wide field of population studies brought out in recent times. He intentionally omits from his discussion those immigrants from other totalitarian countries such as Italy or Spain, and concentrates his interest on Central Europe, specifically on the immigrants from Germany and Austria. They numbered, according to Mr. Kent, over one hundred thousand. Eighty per cent were of Jewish origin, and an uncommon proportion, seven and three tenths per cent, belonged to the professional classes (p. 23).

Mr. Kent has tried successfully to present the process of their adjustment and assimilation in the new homeland. He has gathered his information from personal interviews as well as from questionnaires, and he delves into such problems as how to become a citizen, learning the language, making friends in America, earning a living, and the wide range of complexities involved in personal and social adjustment. Many of the answers he received to his inquiries are not only highly typical of the common experience of this group in its initial struggle for resettlement in a new country but are also humanly moving in their revelation of an all too often forgotten aspect of the human tragedy called emigration. The historian will find Mr. Kent's material, most of which is, of course, presented anonymously, a basis for the understanding of some of the most heart-rending events of our time. We owe Mr. Kent a debt of gratitude for recording these representative utterances which otherwise would remain well hidden in diaries and letters.

That the process of assimilation was on the whole highly successful, can already be asserted. In spite of occasional local resistance, the great majority of immigrants was easily integrated into the intellectual and educational pattern of the adopted country. It would be an interesting task to undertake parallel studies for the immigrants in, say, Great Britain, Turkey, or Latin America. Although statistical proof is still lacking, we venture to say that the comparison would demonstrate that, for multiple reasons, the refugee intellectual of the 1930's was more successfully absorbed in the United States than in any other country. In describing and analyzing the social reactions of the group with which he concerns himself, Mr. Kent has assembled an illuminating amount of material, and interprets it, we believe, quite accurately.

This reviewer does not, however, feel a corresponding confidence in the validity of Mr. Kent's exclusive limitation to the quantitative approach. The process of the Americanization of the refugee intellectual is not a one-way street. And although Mr. Kent speaks frequently of the contributions made by these new Americans, he has not tried to ascertain to what extent America's intellectual and artistic life has been influenced by such figures as Einstein, Thomas Mann, Gropius, Broch, and a whole host of honest minor workers. Such a study would not be easy, to be sure, but it would seem indispensable if one is to do justice to the problem in hand.

It also seems to this writer that the process of Americanization has been judged by a narrow and somehow oversimplified criterion. Quite obviously Mr. Kent's idea of America and of assimilation to it is that America west of the Ohio is more American than, say, New York. But in this assumption he neglects the regional variety of American life which continues to exist in spite of the uniformity caused by mass production and the extreme mobility of life. It is, however, this variety in American life which poses many questions to the newcomer, who will be successful in his assimilation only if he can answer them with individual, constructive reaction.

But with all reservations, Mr. Kent's study remains a valuable contribution to one of the most interesting chapters in our contemporary civilization.

*Sweet Briar College*

GERHARD MASUR

THE APPROACH TO THE PHILIPPINES. By *Robert Ross Smith*. [United States Army in World War II: The War in the Pacific.] (Washington: Department of the Army. 1953. Pp. xviii, 623. \$5.50.)

ROBERT Smith's study begins in March, 1944, when the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff, surprised by the ease and speed of Admiral Nimitz's conquest of the Marshall Islands in the Central Pacific, decided to increase the tempo of the offensive against the Japanese. General MacArthur, who until this time had opposed the by-passing and neutralization, instead of the capture, of Rabaul on New Britain and Kavieng on New Ireland, now agreed to these time- and force-saving operations and ordered the invasion of the Admiralty Islands so that his line of advance would be roughly equivalent to that of the Central Pacific.

But MacArthur still contended that the Allied offensive should be concentrated in his area while the Pacific fleet protected his right flank and carried out its principal mission of either destroying or containing the Japanese navy. An advance through the Central Pacific, the general insisted, would "be time consuming and expensive . . . in naval power and shipping," and would accomplish no important strategic objectives "until a series of amphibious frontal assaults brought Allied forces finally to Mindanao in the southern Philippines."

He said that the capture of the Marianas was unimportant because B-29 operations against Japan from these islands "would obtain negligible strategic and tactical effects"; and that these very long range bombers should be stationed in northwest Australia from where "they could strike lucrative targets in the Netherlands East Indies."

The Joint Chiefs of Staff, in spite of MacArthur's repeated objections, ordered the offensive continued through both the Central Pacific and Southwest Pacific Areas, with the main effort to be made by Admiral Nimitz. His forces were to continue operations in two directions, the first toward Japan through the Marianas, and the other west to the Philippines by way of the Palaus; while those of General MacArthur, as a secondary and diversionary effort, were to advance northwest along the coast of New Guinea, through the islands off Vogelkop Peninsula, and into the Philippines.

The narrative portions of this book are concerned with the details of MacArthur's amphibious operations, most of which were conducted by General Kruger's Alamo Force, from Hollandia in Dutch New Guinea to Morotai, Peleliu, and Angaur Islands, south and west of the Philippines. The purpose of each of these actions was to capture and develop either an air-base site or staging area to provide protection and logistical support for subsequent advances, and not because of the strategic or tactical importance of the particular areas. The enemy was incapable of an offensive and only rarely attempted to reinforce or supply the cut-off garrisons. The terrain was either swamp or jungle; the weather was tropical and humid; and disease was the greatest source of casualties. War has never been fought under worse conditions, and all honor should be given to the soldiers, Japanese as well as Allied, who sacrificed themselves with courage and fortitude for their nations.

In all honesty, however, it must be admitted that the details of these operations are not interesting reading, and the chief value of the book will be for subsequent staff study of the problems and tactics of jungle fighting. The author is not responsible because the book had to be written truthfully, and to portray this particular portion of the war as anything but dull, dirty, and tortuous would require fictional distortion.

The same high standards of frankness and accuracy which have distinguished the other volumes in this series are maintained in this one. It is illustrated profusely with pictures and maps and has a valuable bibliographical note to guide subsequent students through the maze of the Army's records.

*Tulane University*

THOMAS P. GOVAN

THE ARMY AIR FORCES IN WORLD WAR II. Volume V, THE PACIFIC: MATTERHORN TO NAGASAKI, JUNE 1944 TO AUGUST 1945. Prepared under the Editorship of *Wesley Frank Craven*, Princeton University,

and James Lea Cate, University of Chicago. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1953. Pp. xxxvii, 878. \$8.50.)

THIS volume, the last of five dealing with the combat operations of the Army Air Forces in the Second World War, is divided into four principal parts. The first describes the development of very long range (B-29) bombardment forces and their first employment from bases in China; the second recounts the work of the theater air forces in China and Burma where, at the end of the world's longest supply line and amid manifold difficulties, a devoted effort was made in support of the present ruler of Formosa; the third covers the great campaign in the Southwest Pacific which brought reconquest of the Philippines and cut off Japan from her southern resources area; the last discusses strategic bombardment from Pacific Ocean bases, most notably of course the work of the Marianas-based B-29's.

The book is massive, detailed, and heavily documented. Not a sparrow falls, not a P-40 takes off without due mention, while in addition to the day-to-day narrative brief treatment is given many subjects of more than passing interest. The accounts of the construction of B-29 fields by Chinese hand labor and of the immense base and overhaul facilities set up in India and manned by native workers are suggestive examples of the impact of West on East. The development of the VLR project is notable first as a daring act of faith and later, with the alteration of accepted doctrine to fit the facts of life, as an example of that willingness to experiment necessary to successful innovation. The maneuvers of the AAF directed toward the attainment of independent status within the American command structure would make an interesting study in institutional history. The impressive though generally unrecognized success of mining by B-29's raises such questions as why both Navy and Air Force were so late to embrace this most logical method of attacking an island dependent on overseas resources and whether anyone ever considered the postwar implications of the somewhat redundant process of city-burning which was adopted.

Throughout the book it is apparent that great and successful pains have been taken to be fair to the sister services. Only in the section on the Philippines, where rivalries were so acute, will the suspicious reader feel that Clio at times wears silver wings; and it must be conceded that it is no easy job to deal with the theater over which brooded the great prosodist and where the air commanders were lively individuals who felt that "Boats are all right in their place" (p. 334), who worried lest their plans "leak" to the Navy (p. 695), and who were highly resolved that the AAF would "present a unified front to all comers" (p. 701). Nonetheless a few points may be noted: an AAF air evaluation board report critical of naval aviation is noted in the text (p. 309); the next report of this same board, criticizing AAF procedures (for which impertinence its chief was relieved and demoted by General Arnold), is buried in a footnote (p. 384 n. 138); ground force criticism of Army air at Leyte is described as "grossly unfair"

(*ibid.*) while ground force praise at Luzon is considered "final" (p. 442). Considerable stress is laid on the "lessons" of the Leyte operation, but their precise nature remains unclear to the uninitiated. A somewhat greater use of Japanese sources might have been helpful: the damage done enemy warships off Mindoro in December could thus have been elaborated, while an assessment of the air attacks on Luzon based on enemy records would carry more conviction than the chorused testimony of quaking prisoners (pp. 411-12).

The abiding impression left by the book is that of the immensity of the conflict. The quantification of war has submerged the individual, Lufbery and Rickenbacker belong to a very distant past, and one comes to question the contemporary uses of traditional military history. One authority has wisely observed that it is well to remind ourselves that brave men have lived since Agamemnon; in this volume he is borne out by such tales as that of the fifty fighter pilots who volunteered to escort a bombing mission far beyond maximum range and then, after leaving the target, to parachute together into the ocean in the hope of being picked up. But when all is said the account of missions flown is overshadowed by problems of weapon design, of industrial effort, of supply and transport and personnel so complex as to stagger the imagination. Effective our aviation certainly was; cheap it was not. Modern war, as the Japanese found out, is a luxury reserved to the very rich. A tremendous effort was required and was accomplished, and if its magnitude goes far to discredit the overconfident prophets of air power, the greater should be the praise for those who did the job.

*Swarthmore College*

JAMES A. FIELD, JR.

THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO. By *Howard F. Cline*. [American Foreign Policy Library.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1953. Pp. xvi, 542. \$6.00.)

Mr. Cline's title is somewhat misleading, because his book is not so much a treatise on Mexican-American relations as a study of modern Mexico. Relations with the United States do receive much attention, as they must in any discussion of Mexico's recent history, but the emphasis is on internal political and economic problems. The book contains a wealth of detailed information which is not easily available elsewhere and which makes it a welcome addition to our literature on contemporary Latin America. Some portions are better than others. The treatment of the colonial and nineteenth-century background, which to the historian seems so necessary for an understanding of Mexico today, is sketchy; and there is little discussion of relations with the United States before 1910. On the other hand, there are good though brief chapters on Mexican traits, and an especially interesting discussion of Mexican regionalism. A number of minor factual

errors, some of them apparently the result of inadequate proofreading, detract somewhat from the book's usefulness.

The picture of Mexico since the Revolution is in general a clear and well-balanced one. The author begins his detailed account with the fall of Porfirio Díaz in 1911. A part of the story is already well known, because it has been dealt with by other historians, but Mr. Cline retells it effectively, with an effort to give the reader an understanding of both the Mexican and the North American points of view about matters that have been the subject of bitter controversy. The chapters covering the period from the accession of Cárdenas to the end of the Second World War present more material that will be new to the North American reader. There is a full account of the oil expropriation, but a curiously incomplete account of the Inter-American Conference which met at Mexico in 1945. One would hardly gather that this meeting was an event of real importance in the history of inter-American relations, for there is almost no mention of the Act of Chapultepec and the other measures that were adopted to strengthen the inter-American system.

In the latter part of his book, Mr. Cline describes some of the remarkable changes that have taken place in Mexico in the postwar period. On the whole, he sees a bright future for the Republic. In the field of politics, he feels that there has been "a measurable advance toward western-style political democracy." From an economic point of view, though there is still much poverty, Mexico is better off than ever before in her history and the standard of living of the masses is slowly rising. These conclusions are supported by an extended and interesting analysis of the political and economic situation, with a considerable amount of detail about Mexico's industrial development and the new administration's projects for increasing agricultural production. Still more optimistic is the author's appraisal of the present state of relations with the United States. The two nations are now co-operating closely in many fields of endeavor, and "the future looks bright if the gains to date are not inexcusably squandered by regression on either side to earlier and unsuccessful attitudes and short-sighted actions."

Princeton University

DANA G. MUNRO

JOHN A. MACDONALD: THE YOUNG POLITICIAN. By *Donald Creighton*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1953. Pp. ix, 524. \$7.50.)

THIS is the best biography of any major Canadian political figure of the period since Confederation. It is based upon the most meticulous research in the Macdonald Papers in Ottawa, supplemented by others in Ottawa, Toronto, Kingston, Windsor Castle, the Public Record Office and several other depositories in England. Although there are references to a number of books, there is one surprising omission. R. G. Trotter's *Canadian Confederation* published in 1924



still remains in some respects a definitive study of the subject and should receive recognition as such. The style is fluent, occasionally flamboyant, always lucid. Mr. Creighton's choice of descriptive adjectives and adverbs to characterize persons and events seems sometimes to be overdone but there is never a dull phrase or moment in the book.

Mr. Creighton is successful in identifying the life and ambitions of Macdonald the politician with the growth and development of British North America prior to 1867. He clarifies and emphasizes the formative influences upon which Macdonald's policies were based. First and foremost was his belief that the British system rather than the American system must prevail and second, that Canada must survive as an entity against the expansionist tendencies of the United States. It became imperative in Macdonald's mind to retain the imperial connection in order to preserve intact the imperial structure. To achieve this aim he would develop the resources and improve the physical advantages of Canada, unite the British North American provinces, and expand Canada westward to the Pacific. The effect that affairs in the United States, such as the Patriot War, the Trent Affair, the Civil War, and the Fenian raids, had upon Macdonald's thinking is placed in clear perspective. Equally realistically appraised are Macdonald's contributions to the Confederation movement and the backing given by successive colonial secretaries to Macdonald and his political associates.

One of the tasks which every biographer faces is that of treating his subject objectively and refraining from identifying himself so closely with him that he acquires his antipathies. Mr. Creighton falls down in several instances on this score. For the most part this lack of objectivity appears in overtones in his writing. In certain instances the references are specific. Macdonald and George Brown were political opponents and did not like each other. Mr. Creighton does not like George Brown either. Macdonald may have looked down his nose at the Maritimers, but Mr. Creighton refers to the political leaders there with peculiar inappropriateness as "phlegmatic." It is in his description of American institutions that Mr. Creighton shows his lack of objectivity the most. To be sure Macdonald was schooled in the British parliamentary system of government and believed in it and so does his biographer. That is hardly an excuse for the latter to write that Macdonald was opposed to any modification of it or to "imports from the exotic theory or practice of the congressional system in the United States" (p. 181). A book which in so many respects is so excellent is marred by these intrusions of the author's antipathies.

*Albany, New York*

ALBERT B. COREY

# \* \* \* Other Recent Publications \* \* \*

## General History

THE WORLD AND THE WEST. By *Arnold Toynbee*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1953, pp. vi, 99, \$2.00.) Just as the cinema shows you today a few shots of the big feature film it will present next week, so Arnold Toynbee heralds the publication next year of the remaining four volumes of his monumental *Study of History* (and the inevitable abridgment by Somervell) by printing, as a preview, six brief radio talks he gave last year over the B.B.C. The theme is the collision of Western culture with the cultures of Russia, Islam, India, and the Far East, and it is developed with characteristic philosophizing and climaxed by an admonitory reprise on the fate of ancient Graeco-Roman culture. From the West's past "offensive" against the rest of the world, and from the world's (most notably Russia's) recent "counter-offensive" against the West, Toynbee derives certain "laws of cultural radiation." One is that the technological strand of a culture is apt to penetrate into an alien society faster and farther than its religious, political, and artistic strands. Another is that the penetrative power of a strand is usually in inverse ratio to its cultural value. "In Russia in the fifteenth century and in the Far East in the seventeenth century, the Western civilization was rejected when what it was demanding was conversion to the Western form of Christianity." Latterly, "our Western technology, divorced from Western Christianity, has been accepted in the Far East and Russia"; and this technology, in potent combination with "the Western religious heresy [of Communism], is now being offered to mankind as a rival way of life to ours." Toynbee suggests forces which are operating both for and against acceptance of this offer, and, while disclaiming the role of prophet, he contends that if the West itself accepts the Communist heresy its whole culture *may* be as radically undermined as was that of pagan Greece and Rome by Christian conquest. The little book, as might be expected, is attractively written. It is almost persuasive.

CARLTON J. H. HAYES, *Afton, New York*

SELECTIONS FROM BAYLE'S DICTIONARY. Edited by *E. A. Beller* and *M. duP. Lee, Jr.* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1952, pp. xxxiv, 312, \$6.00.) It appears likely that the editors and publishers of this handsomely printed and well-edited volume were inspired by the recent publication in English (also by the Princeton University Press) of *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment* by Ernst Cassirer. As a "case study" of important generative influences in eighteenth-century thought, *Selections from Bayle's Dictionary* serves as useful illustrative material. The book begins with a twenty-five page "Introduction" which presents the pertinent facts of Bayle's life woven skillfully into an essay about his philosophy with impressive protestations against the neglect too frequently accorded him in treatments of eighteenth-century ideas; but the editors do not pretend to add to the materials already set forth about Bayle by Howard Robinson, J. Devolvé, and Cassirer. There follow eighteen selections (some of them abridged) from the English edition of the famous *Dictionary* (1734-38), with the devious arrangement of the original text—its voluminous "remarks" and its dual system of footnotes said to have been made so laborious intentionally in order to mislead official censors—rearranged in a more modern and readable fashion. The eighteen selections include "Abdas," "Adam," "Anabaptists," "Augustin," "Bernard,"

"Blanche of Castile," "Constance," "David," "Hobbes," "Japan," "Knuzen," "Manichees," "Poquelin [Molière]," "Pyrrho," "Remond," "Ruggeri," "Sarah," and "Spinoza." Taken altogether they are well calculated to present materials both for an intelligent appraisal of Bayle and for illumination of the intellectual scene near the close of the seventeenth century. As in the original, the effect is primarily that of a biographical approach to problems of philosophy and religion, with Bayle's remarkable skepticism, his constant advocacy of toleration, and his "Profanation of Sacred History" (as Howard Robinson has called his secular, critical, and "scientific" approach to history) constantly shining through. Thus, for example, the sketches of "Abdas" and "Anabaptists" illustrate Bayle's views about toleration; those of "David" and "Sarah" show his treatment of the Bible as a historical document; those of "Remond," "Molière," and "Ruggeri" set forth his views with regard to "scientific" history; and the account of St. Augustine, together with several others, supplies much data on the controversies with the Huguenot Jurieu and others of his contemporaries with whom Bayle disputed about issues of his own day. As source materials all these are splendid. But it is difficult to envisage the readers for whom this volume is intended. It seems doubtful that the "general" reader will be attracted to such a specialized subject in any appreciable numbers. The "specialist" in history, philosophy, and literature will, if possible, consult the original—and there is too little in the *Selections* to satisfy the research scholar in most cases. College students who are considerably advanced in the study of the Age of Reason and the Enlightenment constitute the audience likely to profit most from this volume. But they will find no index to guide them.

RAYMOND P. STEARNS, *University of Illinois*

MONARCHY IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By Sir *Charles Petrie*, Corresponding Member of the Royal Spanish Academy of History. [Twentieth Century Histories.] (London, Andrew Dakers; New York, Macmillan, 1952, pp. 223, \$3.50.) This small volume falls into two parts. The first (and better) half covers the development of modern British monarchy from feudal times to Victoria and, in greater detail, the reigns of this century. The author ably discusses the personal character of the sovereigns and the changing nature of the institution. He rightly stresses the influence of George V in preserving the throne, gives an honest and concise account of the abdication crisis and a fair appraisal of the contributions of George VI and his queen. For the future, it is his opinion that the crown needs to be brought into closer touch with the country's leaders of thought and that its association with leaders of industry and commerce which was furthered by Edward VII should not lead to an impression that access to the palace depends upon wealth. Also, popular journalism should be more restrained in its treatment of the royal family. There should be, he feels, "an international monarchist solidarity" between Britain and other countries which have retained their thrones since "all regimes derive strength or weakness from the success or failure of those of a similar nature elsewhere, and a monarchy is no exception." This latter point is clearly debatable for monarchy now appears to flourish under particular local circumstances, unrelated to conditions in other areas. The second half of the book deals with Continental monarchies. Here the author's solidarity theme leads him to condemn the Hohenzollerns ("Imperial *parvenus*") who countenanced Bismarckian intrigues against a restoration in France and later assisted Trotsky and Lenin to foment revolution in Russia. Their shortsightedness helped bring about not only their own destruction but involved other dynasties, including the Habsburgs and Wittelsbachs. "Dog can never eat dog with impunity." In a study written for a popular series and without footnotes or bibliography, generalizations and personal viewpoints

are to be expected, but this one contains a number of questionably broad assertions and indications of hasty production. Typical is the statement which refers to Spain after the First World War: "The one Spaniard who enhanced his country's reputation during these critical years was the King." It is also disappointing that whereas southern European monarchies which have failed are considered at some length those of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, countries which have never experienced republican rule, are dismissed in little more than a page. Comment on the successful House of Orange-Nassau is also sketchy. There are instances of careless proofreading. Besides several misspellings, the word "defined" is almost certainly substituted for "defended" on page 196, and a phrase or sentence omitted on page 208.

GEORGE CURRY, *University of South Carolina*

AMERICANS AND CHINESE: TWO WAYS OF LIFE. By *Francis L. K. Hsu*, Associate Professor of Anthropology, Northwestern University. (New York, Henry Schuman, 1953, pp. xix, 457, \$6.00.) The author of this book was born in Manchuria, studied in England, and was for a time a medical social worker in the Peking Union Medical College. As the holder of a Wenner-Gren Foundation grant for the study of race relations in Hawaii, he had ample opportunity to compare the diverse responses that Americans and Chinese make to similar situations. In his book he traverses the whole gamut of their differing attitudes, responses, likes and dislikes, and finds that two basic differences explain them all. The American, being "individual centered," must find his security in activity, in self-assertion, and in conquest of his physical environment. An uprooted being, he tends to think in terms of absolutes, of infallibility, of class struggle, of unconditional surrender. The Chinese, on the other hand, is a "situation-centered" man. From childhood he is securely rooted in family and community relationships which give him a sense of belonging, a feeling of continuity in personality and culture. Secure in his relationships, he does not feel so keenly the urge to dominate, to excel, to put faith in abstract principles—whether of religion, of philosophy, or of politics. The author is fully aware that both systems have their advantages and pitfalls. Though Americans gained independence of action, they have purchased it at the cost of emotional security. They feel isolated, and so are perpetually in search of something to which they can belong. The mutual dependence which the Chinese have achieved has retarded their outward progress and lessened their compulsion to ameliorate evils created by nature and man. The author feels that even though Communism triumphed in China there is actually more danger of its gaining a permanent foothold in the West than in China itself. Lacking social cohesion, the Western type of man is more likely to find in totalitarian systems the sense of belonging and purposiveness in life that he so badly needs. Though this book makes many very pertinent observations, most of them deserving serious thought and study, it is written in a breezy, intimate style which gives it a half narrative and half scholarly air. American religious practices are described in their crudest and least attractive forms. Similarly, Chinese moral ideals, which guided the people for centuries, are not in any way credited with making them the sort of people they are. In this book and for this social scientist, people are just what they are—automatons reacting as collective bodies. History, moral values, the deepest strivings of man, find here no place.

ARTHUR W. HUMMEL, *Library of Congress*

THE UNITED STATES AND INDIA AND PAKISTAN. By *W. Norman Brown*. [American Foreign Policy Library.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1953, pp. x, 308, \$4.50.) This book is part of the American Foreign Policy Library, which

circumstance presumably has determined its general organization. Contrary to the title it deals mostly with developments in India and Pakistan in recent years, a knowledge of which is essential for the designing of a wise American policy toward the subcontinent. The author begins with 1947, the year of independence, and throughout the book emphasizes contemporary situations. But he makes full use of his great scholarship in Indian affairs and puts current events in their cultural and historical setting. The depth and detachment that this gives to the story contribute to the value of the book. But these qualities are gained at the expense of conveying the severity and urgency of India's and Pakistan's present-day problems. Not until chapter 14, "Population, Production, and the Good Life," is the basic problem—the livelihood of the people—dealt with in some detail, yet it is of primary importance in any consideration of American foreign policy toward these two countries, and the author points this out very well. The book begins with the geography of the two countries. A brief cultural orientation follows. Thereafter about a third of the book is devoted to the story of the struggle for independence and the effects of partition. The remainder is taken up with surveys of the politics, economics, and foreign affairs of the two countries. In general, the author refrains from evaluation. His account is factual and instructive. In spite of the brevity of the book, the author succeeds by a judicious choice of the facts, the perspective in which he views them, and the balance of his presentation in providing a broad idea of the character of the two countries and their peoples. The reader who wants to get a background for the understanding of events in India and Pakistan and their place in the world will find the book valuable.

WERNER LEVI, *University of Minnesota*

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## Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton<sup>1</sup>

BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN RELIGION. By S. H. Hooke, Professor Emeritus in the University of London. [Hutchinson's University Library: World Religions.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1953, pp. 128, trade \$2.25, text \$1.80.) Within a modest but compressed hundred pages Professor Hooke has written an introductory manual for students of the religion of the people who inhabited the Tigris-Euphrates Valley during three thousand years of its history. The volume is especially welcome, not only as it is the first attempt of its kind in English—Jean Bottéro's *La religion babylonienne* appeared in 1952—but because it has been written by one who has long been concerned with problems of Semitic myth and ritual. This long-standing concern of the author with the labyrinth of ritual has led him beyond the description of the Babylonian pantheon to the subjects of temples, the religion of daily life, divination, and beliefs concerning the moral government of the world. Professor Hooke has suggested a valuable outline of the problem of describing adequately Babylonian and Assyrian religion. His frequent reference to ritual practices reflected in the religious literature of the Hebrews serves to make the subject of interest to a large circle of readers. While detailed references to the primary texts have been omitted in this volume, designed for the popular audience of the Hutchinson's University Library, the translation of a selection of ritual and other religious texts in the appendix will be of interest to cuneiformists. This pioneer work of popularization is stimulating, extremely useful as an introduction, and is well balanced in its outline and major emphases.

JAMES B. PRITCHARD, *Crozer Theological Seminary*

ANCIENT EGYPT. By J. E. Manchip White. (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1953, pp. xi, 217, \$3.75.) During the past few years, many popular and semipopular works have been published giving the story of ancient Egypt. The present work is intended to make this period intelligible to a rather wide range of informed readers and to serve as an introduction to Egyptology. The style is lively, illustrations (48 in number) are well chosen, and maps (one, plus endpapers) are clear and not too cluttered. The index is adequate and the selected bibliography is well compiled. What makes the book different from many others is the "vocational" approach to Egyptian life. Succeeding chapters organize our knowledge under such headings as pharaoh, priest, aristocrat, architect, craftsman, and commoner. The treatment and organization of material are quite effective. The book ends with three historical chapters and a large

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.



chronological chart which is invaluable for reference purposes. One who has taught over this period and who is quite familiar with available textbooks is struck by the fact that this work does an extremely competent job of teaching. One reason for this, aside from a good style, is that the standard historical and archaeological phraseology is explained and elucidated as the author proceeds. Also, some of the thrill and wonder of first discovery is imparted to the reader. The author continually points to the enigmatic and mysterious character of Egyptian people and Egyptian civilization. As we know them from their monuments, the ancient Egyptians do seem to have been a peculiar people—lacking in historical interest and in critical acumen. The author tries, in his own words, “to offer some explanation of the principles which animated it [Egyptian civilization].” This work is not only a good one for the general reader but could well be used for students in elementary college courses.

THOMAS A. BRADY, *University of Missouri*

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT. Volume I, Part 1, INDEX TO THE EXTANT HISTORIANS. Part 2, THE FRAGMENTS. By *Charles Alexander Robinson, Jr.*, Professor of Classics, Brown University. [Brown University Studies, Volume XVI.] (Providence, Brown University, 1953, pp. xvii, 276, \$7.00.) The connection between Parts 1 and 2 will probably be made clear by the concluding volume. Part 1 (pp. 1–29) consists of an index to the five extant accounts of Alexander (i.e., those of Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, Curtius Rufus, and Justin), while Part 2 (pp. 30–276) is a translation of an entirely different set of texts, the fragments of the Alexander historians as edited by Felix Jacoby (*Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Vol. II B, Nos. 117–153 [Berlin, 1929]). The index is geographical not alphabetical, following the alleged itinerary of Alexander worked out by Robinson in an earlier work (*The Ephemerides of Alexander's Expedition*, Brown University Studies, I [Providence, 1932]). Under each entry not only are the relevant passages in the Teubner editions of the five historians cited but the evidence is further classified under one or more of fifty-eight “categories.” In a footnote the author confides: “I think I should say explicitly, however, that the chief value of the Categories seems to me to lie in their isolation of problems” (n. 7, p. 4). One or two examples may be given by way of illustration: XV. Colonies and foundations of Alexander. XXVII. Alexander's character; the troops' regard for him; stories bearing on his character. XXX. Alexander's far-reaching plans; exploration. XXXI. Alexander's deification, or matters touching on his divine nature. Analysis and comment will appear subsequently (p. xi), but some hints are given here. For example, Robinson asks: “If the total number of references to Alexander's orientalizing is smaller than supposed, must we then surely give full weight to those which do occur in Arrian?” (p. 7). It should be unnecessary to point out the perils of a statistical approach to Alexander even when one has an open mind. It remains to be seen how it will be applied by one who frankly confesses: “The chief delight in reading him [i.e., Justin] is to watch him wriggle out of a situation where, you feel, he is bound to say something favorable to Alexander” (p. 1). The translation of the fragments will be welcome to teachers of Greek history everywhere. It is a pity that the author did not make his own translations throughout, both because he has inadvertently perpetuated past errors (e.g., Onesicritus F 25, p. 162), and because, as he recognizes, translations “. . . are necessary when an interpretation depends on them” (p. xi). But full justice to Robinson's volume cannot be done until the entire work has been published.

TRUEDELL S. BROWN, *University of California, Los Angeles*



THE MAGISTRATES OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC. Volume II, 99 B.C.-31 B.C. By T. Robert S. Broughton, Bryn Mawr College. [Philological Monographs, Number XV, Volume II.] (New York, American Philological Association, 1952, pp. ix, 647.) Professor Broughton has completed his task with equal promptness and thoroughness, and the *Magistrates* are now completely in our hands. The treatment is the same as in Volume I, a year-by-year catalogue of the officials of the Republic, with references, and a brief summary of the events of their term of office. It is characteristic of the nature of our sources that the years covered by this second volume (99-31 B.C.) occupy almost as many pages as their four hundred predecessors, and the whole will be an invaluable guide to the factual history of the Republic and the original sources. In addition, the "Index of Careers" (pp. 524-636) furnishes the central core of a "Prosopographia Rei Publicae Romanae," which the author should now be in an advantageous position to give us. Otherwise this volume includes a list of the known *Monetales* (Appendix I, pp. 429-61), of magistrates of uncertain date (pp. 462-86), and of additional senators (pp. 487-98), with twenty-five pages of bibliography. The author has placed in his debt all who deal with the history of the Roman Republic, and American classicists may be justly proud of a book of reference of a type not often produced on this side of the Atlantic. We must all be grateful to him.

C. BRADFORD WELLES, *Yale University*

THE AGE OF DIOCLETIAN. A Symposium, December 14-16, 1951. (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953, pp. 78, 16 plates, \$1.50.) Although very little connection can be demonstrated between the artistic phases of the Age of Diocletian on the one hand and the economic, religious, literary, and legal aspects of the period on the other, the high caliber of most of the papers prepared for this symposium more than justifies the publication of the material. The series begins with an adequate survey of the historical background by Casper J. Kraemer, Jr. This is followed by an excellent paper by Eberhard F. Bruck entitled, "Law in a Changing World." William L. Westermann includes some very interesting material in his "Price Controls and Wages," and Rhys Carpenter has something new and stimulating to say about the sculpture and architecture of this later Roman period. By far the best paper, however, is the one entitled "The Religious Aspirations." This is the work of Erwin R. Goodenough, and it is not overstating the case to call it a real contribution to the subject. Not much can be said for Gilbert Highet's "Books and the Crisis," a superficial thing, verging on the precious, which inspires little confidence in his knowledge of the literature of this period. His statement that the *Imperial History* (better known as the *Augustan History*) was "written by half-wits and edited by an idiot" is a good example of his considered opinions on the subject. The list of *errata* accompanying this volume is not complete.

TOM B. JONES, *University of Minnesota*

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## Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm<sup>1</sup>

HISTOIRE DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES. Edited by *Pierre Renouvin*. Volume I, LE MOYEN AGE. By *François L. Ganshof*. (Paris, Hachette, 1953, pp. xvii, 331, 850 fr.) This is the first of six volumes to be devoted to an analysis of the history of international relations. If the succeeding books are as good, as carefully and as interestingly compiled, and as useful as this first synthesis by Professor Ganshof, the general editor will be fortunate indeed. A work of some three hundred pages on medieval international relations might be interpreted by the old-fashioned either as an affront or as a bit of folly, but those more conversant with modern methods will find here material of worth. It is presented by a historian with enviable lucidity as a writer and happily lacks any of the jargon currently accepted as fashionable by too many writers on international problems. The theme of the series is given the broadest

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

possible interpretation and the author allowed full scope in his analysis of formal and informal contacts between groups and persons in western Europe, Asia, and northern Africa and the results of cultural interchange between these peoples. There is no attempt to give full documentation and footnotes are omitted entirely. Each chapter, however, has an excellent selective bibliography. Much of the factual material used is familiar; however, the juxtaposition of facts, their selection, and the weight given them lend novelty to the book. In addition to Professor Renouvin's introductory note for the series and Professor Ganshof's for this first volume, there are twelve chapters and a brief conclusion. Limitations of space allow only passing attention to these main divisions. The breakdown of Roman unity obviously demanded first consideration; the Carolingian epoch, the disintegration of the restored empire and initial triumphs of the papacy are examined, followed by a short but pertinent survey of the Byzantine and Muslim worlds and their relations with the West before the twelfth century. A chapter on the theocratic age and the French hegemony, and another on the East in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries cover the high Middle Ages. A long, closely packed section on "The Age of the Great Depression" describes fourteenth-century conditions, while another is reserved for "The Decline of the Middle Ages and the Dawn of a New Era." Chapters III, VII, and XII, interspersed at proper intervals among the topics listed above deal exclusively with the technique of international relations of specific periods and are notable for their originality and usefulness. The almost limitless possibilities for the diffusion of ideas by the invention of printing are seized upon by the author as without doubt the most important fact in the history of international relations at the close of the Middle Ages. Only a writer with the experience, learning, and scholarly distinction of Professor Ganshof could succeed with the task he has here performed so well.

GRAY C. BOYCE, *Northwestern University*

THE DEEDS OF FREDERICK BARBAROSSA. By *Otto of Freising* and His Continuator, *Rahewin*. Translated and Annotated with an Introduction by *Charles Christopher Mierow*, Professor of Biography on the Ambrose White Vernon Foundation, Carleton College. With the Collaboration of *Richard Emery*, Associate Professor of History, Queens College. [Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, Number 49.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1953, pp. x, 366, \$5.50.) The present version of Otto of Freising's *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris* is the work of an experienced translator, who has already put into English the fanciful account of Jordanes on the *Origin and Deeds of the Goths* (Princeton dissertation, 1908) and Otto of Freising's tale of *Two Cities* (1928). Dr. Mierow is a professional classical scholar who brings a sure touch to the Latin text. This is the forty-ninth volume to appear in the Columbia "Records of Civilization," and by the time this number of the *American Historical Review* has been printed, the fiftieth will have appeared. The chief failure of this long series of finely made volumes is the dearth of Byzantine historical sources, generally less accessible in the original and far more needed in translation than most of the Latin works which have been published in the "Records." This has not been the fault of the editor of the "Records," however, for he has more than once informed the present reviewer that it has proved almost impossible to secure competent scholars to undertake the Greek translations. But it is to be hoped that, if the "Records" are to continue for many years to come, there will hereafter be at least as many medieval Greek as Latin sources among the new titles. However this may be, Dr. Mierow has done an excellent job in the present volume. His translation is accurate, and flows smoothly in idiomatic English, despite a few infelicities such as "honored and onerated" (p. 4) for *honoratus et oneratus* (I, 24). This was a gesture of despair, but

translation is a thankless task, and so we thank Dr. Mierow for what he has done. Indeed, the skill with which he has rendered into English hexameters Vergil, *Aen.* I, 198-99, 205, and certain other passages in verse, makes the reviewer wish that Dr. Mierow had turned his talent to some of the ancient and medieval Latin poets rather than to Otto of Freising.

KENNETH M. SETTON, *University of Pennsylvania*

THE PROSECUTION OF JOHN WYCLYF. By *Joseph H. Dahmus*, Associate Professor of History, Pennsylvania State College. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1952, pp. xi, 167, \$4.00.) This is a succinct, learned, and authoritative monograph. It has the defects of its qualities; for example, it assumes a lot of background knowledge and is not easy to read. True, the major Latin documents referred to are not only summarized but translated and printed (fully) in the text. Yet this treatment seems unnecessarily lavish, in relation for instance to the five bulls of May, 1377, which are highly repetitive and largely common form; and it contrasts strangely with the compressed nature of Mr. Dahmus' own writing. The work is also marred by a certain asperity toward British scholars. "It provides," we are told, "an indispensable corrective to Workman's standard biography of Wyclif"; and at times Workman is pretty roughly handled. "Pantin is wrong." "Manning is in error." "Steel is confused." Of course these judgments refer to specific points of detail, and I for my part gladly accept two such strictures: I think Mr. Dahmus is right. On some other points I am not so sure—for example, on John of Gaunt's personal relations with Wyclif; the attitude of the Londoners, which was largely determined by internal city politics left unanalyzed by Mr. Dahmus; and the silencing of Oxford university by Archbishop Courteney. Just why and when Gaunt came to regard Wyclif as his "man" remains something of a mystery, but there is no need to suppose any personal friendship between them to account for the protection which Wyclif continued to receive during his later years. I prefer McFarlane's explanation (*John Wycliffe and the Beginnings of English Non-conformity*, London, 1952) that it "fits in with Lancaster's reputation as the successful manager of a great affinity that he should have continued to defend a servant whose opinions he abhorred." Indeed Mr. Dahmus would do well to commend McFarlane's little book to his students. He would find that of the fifteen "significant contributions" which he claims for his own work, at least twelve or thirteen can be found in McFarlane (together with some new ones), all of them of course independently arrived at by both scholars, neither of whom mentions the other's work. Oxford, says McFarlane, was defending academic freedom against Courteney—not quite the freedom of the individual teacher, as today, but the freedom of one medieval corporation against another, namely, the church. When the cause was lost and Wyclif's university disciples were silenced or dispersed, Lollardy was doomed for lack of leadership, and it is notable that both Mr. Dahmus and McFarlane think that this was no great loss: apparently you *can* have too much academic freedom. But did Wyclif himself ever recant? Both scholars say no, though he was silenced as the price of Gaunt's protection. His prosecution was abandoned; he retired to Lutterworth for the last time in 1382; went on writing for two years as a very sick man, but did not lecture or dispute; and was not finally condemned by the church, of which he had never ceased to call himself a member, until more than thirty years after his death.

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## Modern European History

## THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

Leland H. Carlson<sup>1</sup>

THE PLACE OF HOOKER IN THE HISTORY OF THOUGHT. By *Peter Munz*, Senior Lecturer in History, Victoria University College, Wellington, New Zealand. (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952, pp. x, 217, 18s.) In a competent analysis of the thought of Thomas Hooker, Peter Munz shows us that the distinguished author of *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* failed to meet the challenge of Puritanism and thus was unable to achieve his goal of a judicious compromise between church and state. He failed because, as the last great voice in England of the Middle Ages, he could not get sufficiently outside the thought of Aquinas to get in touch with the Puritan mind. Had he understood Plato, at least as well as some Puritans understood him, he might have bridged the gap between their outlook and his own. Had he been able to transmit the humanist tradition of Erasmus, he might also have prevented, Mr. Munz suggests, the Puritans from drawing the curtain on the realm of beauty. Hooker's failure meant not least that he became an apologist for the Tudor constitution. He insisted that the Puritan refusal to obey the established church was to deny the foundations of all political obligations. Although Hooker did not achieve his goal of a state supplemented by a church, in which each authority was essentially autonomous, recognizing that reason and revelation are two independent sources of law, nevertheless he did forward the liberal tradition. For, along with Suarez and Bellarmine, he fostered a revival of Aristotle toward the end of the sixteenth century and brought the Middle Ages, with its belief in reason and a universal higher law, into modern times, where they were to leave their impact on the thought of Grotius and Locke. Mr. Munz has shown with a firm grasp Hooker's indebtedness to Aquinas, Aristotle, and Marsilius, just as he has shown Hooker's variations from their ideas and his sharp opposition to Plato. The author is to be commended especially for bringing out the role played by the view of human nature not only in explaining Hooker's thought but also in explaining the thought of others. Perhaps Mr. Munz's able study would have been still more effective had he placed Hooker's work more sharply against the actual historical events of the day.

BENJAMIN E. LIPPINCOTT, *University of Minnesota*

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY AND RECORDS OF THE COURT OF WARDS AND LIVERIES. By *H. E. Bell*, Fellow of New College, Oxford. [Cambridge Studies in English Legal History.] (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1953, pp. x, 215, \$6.00.) The history of the court of wards illustrates a stage in the slow death of feudalism as well as some important aspects of the struggle over royal prerogatives. The court owed its beginnings to Tudor efficiency. The insistence that the king "live of his own" combined with expanding financial needs of the crown led to the improvement of procedures for exploiting the feudal incidents of relief, wardship, and marriage as well as custody of idiots and madmen. Late in the reign of Henry VIII, these procedures were institutionalized in the Court of Wards and Liveries. Mr. Bell's book is a straightforward and scholarly account based on a thorough study of records which owing to neglect in the period immediately following the dissolution must have presented to the author many discouragements and

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

frustrations. In spite of this he has examined every kind of document relating to the court and available in the Public Record Office. He has supplemented these with treatises on the royal prerogative, law reports, seventeenth-century practice books and documents in private collections. The result is an admirable and much-needed description of the court throughout the entire hundred years of its history. There is meat here not only for administrative and legal historians but also for those interested in social and constitutional history. With a fine sense of proportion, Mr. Bell puts the court in its larger setting, shows how it figured in the constitutional crises of the seventeenth century and relates many details which should attract the social historians to the records of the court. For example we find discussed not only the question of abuses of the court and the agitation against it but also the whole question of the welfare of royal wards. We hear that Sir Humphrey Gilbert devised an ambitious plan for their education but, since the estimated outlay was nearly £3000, we are not surprised to hear that Elizabeth never let the project get beyond the formulative stage. Gilbert asserted that the education of wards was sometimes deliberately neglected not merely because education was expensive but also because overeducated wards, it was assumed, might refuse to marry undereducated daughters of their guardians by purchase. Most of the abuses arose from the sale of wardships and marriages, especially the latter, and this, paradoxically, was one of the factors which kept the court alive long after it had become generally unpopular. Mr. Bell compares the sale of wardships and marriages to the sale of monastic lands as a means whereby the Tudor monarchs enlisted the support of "the most influential sections of the community" in the continuance of an irksome royal prerogative. The highest income from the sale of wardships and marriages seems to have occurred in the year ending Michaelmas 1639 just six years before the court was first dissolved. In that year the issues of wards' lands reached the high point of £38,523 while the proceeds from sales touched £45,313.

MARGARET HASTINGS, *New Jersey College for Women*

THE MURDER OF SIR THOMAS OVERBURY. By *William McElwee*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1952, pp. 280, \$4.50.) "This book," says the author, "is the outcome of a conviction that a piece of history, if it is properly written, is a better story than any novel which can be written about it." Animated by this belief, to which few historians would take exception, Mr. McElwee has written an account of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. Mr. McElwee's prose is graceful and lively, he has worked through a large body of complicated material, he is impartial. Unfortunately his history is that of an amateur. He makes a host of errors. Sir Daniel Donne is called chancellor of the exchequer, Andrewes bishop of London, Sir Henry Wotton ambassador at Turin. Worse than minor slips are loose and unguarded comments and explanations. Winwood, says Mr. McElwee, might have lost his head had he not died a natural death. The Howards, who "could not afford to be out of office for long," "suffered damage by Salisbury's death," and after Somerset's disgrace "depended absolutely on Sir Thomas Lake." Details are guessed at. Of James's first interest in Robert Carr, which began when Carr was thrown from his horse, we read, "James was already goggling at him when his mettlesome horse began to rear." Old tales are easily accepted. King James "had acquired, before he was even born, a horror of naked steel." There are many repetitions, as though names and events, as they recur in the story, suggest set phrases to the author's mind. King James, having been found to have gone on a progress to the New Forest, is not allowed to make a progress in any other direction. Somerset, being stupid and arrogant, is not permitted to do anything that is not arrogant and stupid. On page 222 a sentence is repeated in almost

identical wording. It is unfortunate that such blunders should mar a sincere attempt to tell a good story and at the same time to write accurate history.

DAVID HARRIS WILLSON, *University of Minnesota*

CHATHAM. By J. H. Plumb. [Brief Lives, Number 7.] (New York, Macmillan, 1953, pp. 159, \$1.75.) The author has succeeded in compressing the biography of a very great man into a very short space. Depending chiefly upon standard works, he has achieved a readable and popular presentation of the dramatic career of the elder Pitt, whose genius carried England to victory in the Seven Years' War. Mr. Plumb is at his best when summarizing great events: Pitt's black prospects in 1757 when he assumed supreme direction of a war almost lost; the formation of grand strategy; the turning of the tide; the *annus mirabilis* of 1759. While displaying a general understanding of eighteenth-century British politics, the author is unaware that the period from the accession of George III in 1760 to the death of Pitt in 1778 was one of preparation for the emergence of the modern British party system. Pitt's quixotic tilting at the windmill of "faction" worked powerfully, albeit unintentionally, for the development of a new Tory party. The imperial crisis which began with the Stamp Act is very briefly treated. Even so, space should have been found for a comparison of the views of Pitt with those of his opponent, Grenville, who is not even mentioned as the head of a ministry. The constant use of Pitt's madness to explain his frequently surprising behavior is unsatisfactory. Pitt's acceptance of the paymastership in 1745, his violence in Parliament in 1751, the great speeches for the repeal of the Stamp Act, his peerage, the secrecy with which he prepared his American Bill in 1775, all are seen as indicative of his mania. Without denying the importance of Pitt's mental illness, more satisfactory explanations lie ready to hand.

CHARLES R. RITCHESON, *Kenyon College*

GLADSTONE AND LIBERALISM. By J. L. Hammond and M. R. D. Foot. [Teach Yourself History Library.] (New York, Macmillan, 1953, pp. vi, 219, \$2.00.) Much information and many stimulating suggestions can be found in this little book. Its early chapters contain an excellent analysis of the economic, political, religious, and social factors which influenced the young Gladstone. His transition from Toryism to Liberalism is treated more sketchily, but his activities after he had joined Palmerston's government as chancellor of the exchequer in 1859 are given as much space as possible. As might be expected from the title, attention is focused upon Gladstone's connections with free trade, European nationalist movements, the extension of the franchise, and the various aspects of the Irish question—culminating in the historic fight for home rule. That Gladstone viewed international questions as a European is given due emphasis. The authors rightly describe him as a man of great simplicity of character, a trait, however, which was somewhat obscured by his intellectual subtlety. Until his last ministry he was less lonely than Messrs. Hammond and Foot seem to think. And the loneliness which Gladstone voiced so movingly in a letter to Acton of February 9, 1894, may be ascribed to the common human experience that to live is to outlive. Two factual statements and one inference should be corrected. Gladstone's tenure at the Colonial Office, 1846, was not "chiefly occupied" with transportation as stated (p. 51), and the Anglo-French fleet had appeared off Alexandria before—not after—the riots of June 11, 1882 (p. 158). Gladstone is described as having "lost his head" at the Newcastle banquet, October 7, 1862, when he declared that Jefferson Davis had made a nation (p. 89). But in view of the fact that this statement is found in a private letter of September 22 to Sir Arthur Gordon, it must be assumed that it

expressed a firmly held belief. It should indeed be considered against the background of Gladstone's sensitiveness to popular rights and national self-determination revealed so often both in discussions of colonial self-rule and of European nationalist movements. *Gladstone and Liberalism* is a valuable addition to a series of useful books. It will help to correct biased judgments concerning a great Liberal.

PAUL KNAPLUND, *University of Wisconsin*

FEAR GOD AND DREAD NOUGHT: THE CORRESPONDENCE OF ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET LORD FISHER OF KILVERSTONE. Volume I, THE MAKING OF AN ADMIRAL, 1854-1904. Selected and Edited by *Arthur J. Marder*, University of Hawaii. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1952, pp. 377, \$5.50.) John A. Fisher exerted the strongest individual influence on the British Navy which fought World War I. Born in 1841, a naval cadet in 1854, under fire in China in 1859, a commander in 1869, a captain in 1874, he became a rear admiral in 1890; and this volume carries him to 1904, when he became first sea lord. He championed the development of efficient gunnery and torpedoes; he welcomed every promising mechanical advance; and he demanded technical engineering training for naval officers. The editor has compiled an interesting and valuable book, which presents "Jackie" Fisher as a phenomenal enthusiast and natural leader of men. In the early pages, faced with the praises which Fisher lavished on the seniors whom he admired, the reader is tempted to believe that his rapid rise was the result of a happy disposition and the power of making friends. Fisher was an indefatigable worker, a skillful instructor in ordnance, and a sailor who wanted to serve at sea and to command a ship. Later on, he was well known as a public advocate of young officers in the higher ranks. He himself had early promotions as a junior officer. In a brief period as admiral superintendent of Portsmouth Dockyard he made great improvements. Then came five years as third sea lord, during which he devised the destroyer type. Then followed command of the North America and West Indies station, and service as the British naval delegate to the first Hague Conference. From July, 1899, to June, 1902, Fisher was commander in chief of the Mediterranean Fleet, and this provides the most interesting and most important part of the book. The admiral's character, personality, and ideas stand out unmistakably in a chapter headed "Revolution in the Mediterranean." After a year with naval personnel problems as second sea lord, and another year as commander in chief at Portsmouth, Fisher was elevated to first sea lord, and here this volume ends.

JOHN B. HEFFERNAN, *Washington, D.C.*

THE FORSAKEN IDEA: A STUDY OF VISCOUNT MILNER. By *Edward Crankshaw*. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1952, pp. ix, 178, \$3.25.) The usual assessment of Lord Milner has been that he was an extraordinarily able administrator whose rigidity of mind and temper contributed to make his forays into diplomacy somewhat less than successful. Mr. Crankshaw disagrees. In his view, Milner was a profound political thinker, a diplomatist of exceptional flexibility, a statesman of more than ordinary stature, and a prophet whose unheeded idea—the idea of British imperialism—would have helped ward off the time of troubles in which contemporary Britain finds herself. All this would require considerable demonstration and Mr. Crankshaw's strong point is not demonstration. It is exhortation. He repeats his thesis over and over again, defending the imperial idea in Milner's words and in his own, and with a really astonishing lack of understanding for those who have disagreed with it. Milner's imperial faith had much to be said for it, but for Mr. Crankshaw to argue its validity by swallowing whole Milner's skepticism of democracy and of almost any



kind of international co-operation tends to warp his argument and to vitiate its effectiveness. This is all the more unfortunate since he does give the reader some interesting insights into Milner's character and a good sketch of the high points of his career. The tone of this volume can be gathered from the following quotation, which is characteristic, not unique: "As we all know now, given a choice between standing up for a friend or sacrificing him as a gesture of appeasement to the enemy, all British Governments of whatever colour invariably choose the second course" (p. 102). Even coming from an Englishman, statements of this kind scattered throughout the book rather weaken a reviewer's confidence in its author's judgment. Those who want to understand Milner will still be better served by the two volumes of papers edited by Headlam; this study will be of more use in understanding Mr. Crankshaw.

HENRY R. WINKLER, *Rutgers University*

CECIL RHODES. By *André Maurois*. Translated from the French by *Rohan Wadham*. [Brief Lives, Number 8.] (New York, Macmillan, 1953, pp. 140, \$1.75.) This brief life of Rhodes by André Maurois is a book for the general reader not for the historical student. As history it makes no contribution except in the matter of interpretation. It is founded upon the standard lives of Rhodes, but there is no discussion of disagreements between them, no footnotes or references to original sources. Instead, Maurois has chosen to do a literary picture of the life and character of Rhodes and the conditions in South Africa under which he did his work. As such the volume is excellent. It is an amazingly complete and adequate picture of a great man, the work he did, and the conditions under which he did it. There are brief sketches of his principal friends which are interesting in spite of their brevity; they make the Rhodes circle vivid and real. The volume ignores controversy, both in Rhodes's time and at present. Maurois assumes that disputes are settled by results. This is sufficient for the general reader but, of course, not satisfactory for the historical student. The book makes no contribution to the final political developments in South Africa and no contribution to the great educational results of Rhodes's work in Oxford, the British Dominions, and the United States. In this latter respect the greatest contribution which Cecil Rhodes made to the modern world is practically ignored.

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## FRANCE

*Beatrice F. Hyslop*<sup>1</sup>

AN OUTLINE OF FRENCH HISTORY. By *René Sédillot*. Translated from the French by *Gerard Hopkins*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1953, pp. ix, 372, xiii, \$5.00.) Long stretches of time and space hold no terrors for Mr. Sédillot. He seems to be at home everywhere. In 1949 he produced a history of the world in three hundred pages. That book soon appeared in London and New York editions as has the volume under review—an indication of the interest in his work. *An Outline of French History* tells the story of France and the French people from the "first stirrings" in the area that became France to the period after World War II. Due respect is shown for earlier periods in the allotment of space; more than half of the text is devoted to the period prior to 1589. Even more striking to us in these days of our excessive attention to recent history is the fact that the two centuries of Bourbon rule (1589-1789) receive slightly more space than the period after 1815. Possibly only a Frenchman could write: "We are inclined nowadays to think that as much happened between 1200 and 1300 as between 1800 and 1900" (p. vi). While Sédillot titles his last chapter "Sunset," he clearly does not consider France as "through." He has too much faith in the genius and capacities of his compatriots for that. An amazingly objective tone is preserved throughout the volume, yet the text, packed with a varied, at times curious, assortment of facts, never wearies the reader. Unpleasant truths as a rule are not blinked. One does miss, to be sure, any mention of the antislavery role played by the *philosophes*, which helped to promote the ruin of the rich French West Indian islands during the Revolution. The name of Raynal does not appear in these pages. But, as the preface warns us, the author has made no attempt to "tell all." In its range, scope, and brevity this book may remind older historians of Ernest Lavisse's remarkable *General View of the Political History of Europe*.  
CARL L. LOKKE, *Washington, D.C.*

ROBESPIERRE AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By *J. M. Thompson*, Honorary Fellow of Magdalen College. [Teach Yourself History Library.] (New York, Mac-

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles, except where otherwise indicated.

millan, 1953, pp. vii, 180, \$2.00.) This concise, smoothly written volume by the scholarly English biographer of Robespierre and historian of the French Revolution, is a superlative contribution to a series designed to present history through biography. Mr. Thompson defends the choice of Robespierre since "no one else had lived so fully through every experience of the Revolution or with such a fastidious regard for its first principles" (p. 2). Frequent quotations from the speeches of the chief spokesman of Jacobinism enliven the narrative of the successive revolutionary crises. The speech outlining the worship of the Supreme Being on May 8, 1794, is his most revealing one; the Republic of Virtue was the one ideal on which Robespierre was "consistent, constructive and visionary" (p. 58). According to Thompson, Robespierre, a prophet of the welfare state, was half a century ahead of his times. Among reasons for the fall of Robespierre was the increase of enemies from accelerated executions after 22 Prairial providing popular support for the Convention's attack on Robespierrists, but most important was Robespierre's failure to understand and win the French worker. The sections did not rescue him on 9 Thermidor. Thompson combines Lefebvre's explanation of the beginning of the Revolution with the Mathiez thesis on the Terror. While Thompson does not condone violence, he provides corrective statistics on its victims, and denies that the average citizen feared the guillotine. Three characteristics of the French Revolution are discussed: (1) its distinctively French character, (2) its predominately social and economic features, and (3) its world-wide influence. "There is no democracy but owes something to the 'ideas of 1789', no charter of liberty that is not based on the Declaration of Rights, no programme of social service that does not borrow from the work of the National Assemblies" (pp. 175-76). The volume ends with a warning to irresolute statesmen and to dictators to heed the fall of the Girondists and of the Jacobins. The fine synthesis from longer volumes and recent research, and its discussion of the Terror superior to that of Paul Nicolle in the "Que sais-je?" series, justify translation for French readers. *Robespierre and the French Revolution* should become a classic with George Lefebvre's *Quatre-Vingt-Neuf*. B. F. H.

LA SOCIÉTÉ MILITAIRE DANS LA FRANCE CONTEMPORAINE, 1815-1939. By *Raoul Girardet*. [Civilisations d'hier et d'aujourd'hui.] (Paris, Plon, 1953, pp. 328, 600 fr.) A well-written exploratory reinterpretation of many facets of French history from the military perspective, this book undertakes to define the nature of the nineteenth-century military tradition and to identify public attitudes toward it, the army's social bases, political role, way of life, and concept of its mission. Based upon wide reading of secondary authorities, memoirs, contemporary works on military matters and upon a convincing use of novels for illustrative purposes, the investigation concerns the old pre-1870 professional army and the new national army of universal service (1872-1914). Skeptical of the "Jacobin" army at first, the bourgeoisie, following 1830, became progressively more enthusiastic about *l'idée militaire*, surrounding the soldier with a new *mystique* as the guardian of social stability, an idea upheld generally by the founders of the Third Republic. While conservatives captured *l'idée*, the left perpetuated Jacobin nationalism, intensified by defeat in 1870. For twenty years thereafter Frenchmen looked to the army for national regeneration (the right associated priest and officer; the left, teacher and officer). But after 1890 *l'idée militaire* came to divide Frenchmen. Various factors united to produce a strong wave of anti-militarism which was a significant element in the *crise de l'armée* (Dreyfus Case), and which continued to serve as a divisive force still to be measured, especially in its post-1919 implications. Even before 1870, however, republicans had begun to associate

clericalism and militarism as the twin foes of progress. Socially, the soldier was drawn from the poorest classes before 1870 but was more broadly based thereafter. By default of the upper classes (who tended to withdraw from service between 1830 and 1860), officers of the old army were drawn largely from the ranks of career soldiers, creating a new class of military functionary (the pre-1789 tradition of service as an inherited obligation of an aristocratic class all but disappeared). Anti-intellectual, this group willingly established a tradition, passed on to its post-1870 successors, of submission to rigid discipline, obedience to constituted authority and nonmeddling neutrality in politics (no matter how antipathetic leftist regimes appeared). Although old aristocrats returned to the service between 1860 and 1890, the new national army, officered primarily by the bourgeoisie, was of higher social status, better educated, and further removed from the ranks than before 1870. Though the post-1914 material is clearly an "epilogue," this study as a whole throws considerable light on the collapse of 1940 and the contemporary military problem of France.

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THE LOW COUNTRIES

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HUGO GROTIUS: EINE BIOGRAPHISCHE SKIZZE. By W. J. M. van Eysinga. Foreword by Werner Kaegi. (Basel, Benno Schwabe, 1952, pp. 140, 9.50 fr.) The Dutch original of this little book was published eight years ago on the tercentenary of Hugo Grotius' death. No better authority could have assumed the task. Holland's foremost Grotius scholar, C. van Vollenhoven, died in 1933, and Van Eysinga, his colleague on the law faculty at Leyden, thanks to years of close co-operation with his senior and friend, was the very man to undertake the work that Van Vollenhoven, had he lived, would have written. It is for us moderns an impossible task to follow Grotius on all the excursions of his mind into the most varied fields of human thought. He is best known as a jurist, but he was, besides, a theologian, and an eminent one, whose equals among his contemporaries were few in number, a Greek and Latin scholar and able editor of the classics, a historian and profound reporter on current events, a pioneer in the untrodden field of what long after him became known as anthropology, a dramatist, and a poet. The Latin language, which he wrote and spoke with the same ease as he did his native Dutch, bars the great majority of modern scholars from acquaintance with those works of his that have not been translated into a modern tongue. His Latin poetry is for most of us a closed book. If we may believe Van Eysinga, he was a very great Latin poet. I am acquainted with the verse he wrote in Dutch, and knowing him to have been a mediocre poet in his native language, I suspect that the author's estimate of Grotius the poet is colored by his admiration for Grotius the scholar. By the ill will of his political enemies at home he was doomed to a wandering life in exile from the fatherland he loved. His learning saved him from the obscurity to which his haters would have doomed him. So eminent a jurist could not be left unemployed. Statesmen and scholars sought his opinion, and the Swedish government appointed him its ambassador to the court of Louis XIII. He accepted the honor reluctantly, for love of country made him prefer service in the Dutch Republic to high honor abroad. But when he found that the ruling class in Holland remained adamant in their hostility, he finally took the step that made him a Swedish subject. He consoled himself with the thought that while promoting the French-Swedish interests against the Habsburgs, he could at the same time guard



those of the Dutch Republic, which was lined up with the alliance between Paris and Stockholm. The weekly reports he sent to Oxenstierna from 1635 until 1645, the year of his death, form a magnificent survey not merely of French-Swedish relations but of the events that were then shaping the world's history. For he saw Europe in its global setting. In 1638, having learned that war in Brazil had started anew and that Turkey and Persia had concluded peace, he wrote on Christmas Day: "*Ita longa catena res Europae cum Americanis et Indicanis connectit.*" The book gives a clear picture of the manifold activities of the scholar and man of affairs. The portrait of the man himself remains dim. The author, for all his affection for Grotius, has not succeeded in making him live again for at least one of his readers.

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## NORTHERN EUROPE

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TYSKLAND I SVENSK OPINION, 1856-1871 (with German summary). By *Erik Gullberg*. (Lund, C. W. K. Gleerup, 1952, pp. viii, 382, kr. 18.00.) *Tyskland i Svensk Opinion, 1856-1871* is a doctoral dissertation which deserves attention. It seeks to interpret Swedish public opinion toward Germany from 1856 to 1871. In a well-written introduction the author tries to find those elements which should have brought about a closer relationship between Scandinavians and Germans. These were first stated by Ernst Moritz Arndt, who was born in Swedish Pomerania in 1769. Arndt believed that the future of Scandinavia rested upon ties with Germany as a defense against an aggressive Russia and upon factors such as geography, racial ties, a common culture, and a religious heritage. Arndt's views were to re-echo again and again in Swedish history. They were strengthened by a growing feeling that people were held together by common sympathies and interests, while political boundaries were the results of conquests. There were however innumerable obstacles to any fellowship with Germany, i.e., Prussia, and the major one was "Scandinavianism," which as far as Sweden was concerned expressed itself in strong pro-Danish sentiments in the Schleswig-Holstein question. Russia's friendly relationship to Denmark complicated the issue to be sure, but Sweden's strong anti-Russian feelings had an opportunity to express themselves in the Crimean War. The outcome of this war was not such as most Swedes might have wished and the Peace of Paris was followed by a growing distrust of Prussia. It is true, of course, that the Swedish liberals had close contacts with France and England from which countries they had received much inspiration, but this was not a significant factor in their dislike of Prussia. More significant seems to have been the orientation of the Swedish government foreign policy in the direction of Louis Napoleon, who was thought to be friendly to the idea of "Scandinavianism." Charles XV was a friend of France. The defeat of Louis Napoleon in the Franco-Prussian War apparently surprised most Swedes. Only a single newspaper, *Dagens Nyheter*, proclaimed that France had been liberated from the most infamous government the world had ever known. Before the year 1871 was over, the German representative in Sweden was able to report a friendlier attitude toward Germany. Nevertheless, the Swedes remained for some time skeptical about the developments in Germany. Prince Oscar, who later became king, played a significant role in creating a friendlier public opinion toward Germany in Sweden, building undoubtedly upon the ideas expressed by Arndt.

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BRITISH VIEWS ON NORWEGIAN-SWEDISH PROBLEMS, 1880-1895: SELECTIONS FROM DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE. Edited for Kjeldeskriftfondet by *Paul Knaplund*. (Oslo, Jacob Dybwad for Norsk Historisk Kjeldeskrift-Institutt,

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

1952, pp. xv, 269.) The papers here made public are valuable for the color and detail they add to problems and personalities too little known outside the North. Here is raw material for drama, some of which was played to its finale, some of which fortunately was not. Bitter strife between Norwegians and Swedes grew out of an imperfect constitution and inadequate means of amendment, for the old structure was made obsolete by social change and the transition from government by royal authority to government by parliament and people. The reports throw light on several subjects, especially the controversies over the constitution and diplomatic representation, and on the reverberations of these tensions within the Norwegian-Swedish Union. King Oscar's connections with Germany were close, and evidently the kaiser led him to expect support. The Swedish people resented the royal pro-Germanism but they sympathized with their king in his troubles with the Norwegians; they were, however, more nationalist than unionist. When the king sought British support he got only advice to use caution and concessions. Adjustments were indeed offered, but awkwardly and slowly; by the time they were granted they were insufficient to satisfy the growing demands of the Norwegians, who were striving for both legal and psychological equality. The British desired maintenance of the Union because therein lived some power of restraint against the advance of Russia to a port on the North Atlantic—for throughout these pages of last century's diplomacy hovers the shadow of tsarist Russia. Gladstone was also interested in the Union as a prototype of what might come in Ireland with home rule. The British observers here quoted were on the whole favorable to the Swedish position in the conflicts with Norway. They were quite naturally antagonistic to the republican agitation in Norway, and to "the keen blast of democratic doctrine which now freely sweeps over Norway from across the Atlantic, and to which emigration lends increasing strength year by year" (dispatch of Nov. 12, 1883, p. 58). The general and sectional introductions and the footnote identifications of individuals are well done. But when a note (p. 146) says that a certain memorandum "has not been available" one wonders why? It would be valuable to have such a collection of British documents continued for the period up to 1905 and the break-up of the Union, and it would be perhaps even more enlightening to have the parallel German papers.

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## GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

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SALZBURGS FÜRSTEN IN DER BAROCKZEIT, 1587-1812. By *Franz Martin*. (2d rev. and enl. ed.; Salzburg, Das Bergland Buch Verlag, 1952, pp. 284, Sch. 78.) Probably no one has made more significant contributions to the cultural, political, and administrative history of archiepiscopal Salzburg (ca. 800-1800) than Franz Martin. Head of the Salzburger Landesarchiv for twenty-five years, he edited several outstanding document collections (especially *Salzburger Urkundenbuch*, 3 vols. of 4; *Regesten der Erzbischöfe*, 3 vols.) and in his numerous publications made exemplary use of the source materials at his disposal. Until shortly before his death in 1950, he had served for thirty-nine years as managing editor of the *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*. This book, therefore, presents the mature work of a scholar steeped in the documentary remains of the territorial prince-archbishops of Salzburg. First published in 1949, the present volume is a posthumous second, revised edition, enlarged by an additional study. After an introduction, masterful for its brevity, lucidity, and content, Martin presents individual studies of the last twelve reigning territorial prince-archbishops and their respective times, ending with an excellent survey of the Salzburger cathedral chapter. The treatment, quality, and length of the studies vary. This unevenness results mainly from the relative importance of the various subjects treated and the measure of the availability of primary sources. Thus Wolf Dietrich, the first archbishop discussed, is allotted more space than any other two studies combined. Wolf Dietrich is the ideal prince of the early baroque, the administrative and architectural mastermind who evolved the blueprints which all subsequent archbishops were to follow. Salzburg still owes its captivating charm—an Italian gracefulness blended into a northern landscape—to Wolf Dietrich's soaring conceptions. But whether the incumbent was as significant as Paris Lodron or as unimportant as Jakob Ernst, as forceful as Wolf Dietrich or as complacent as Franz Anton, Martin has some significantly fresh and forceful contributions to make, especially in the social and cultural areas, about each of Salzburg's rulers, the land and the people they ruled. He adds in a modest way a few more vital fragments to our tantalizingly hazy knowledge of that "monstrosity"—the Holy Roman Empire during its last two centuries of existence. Thirty-seven illustrations, some of which are reproduced here for the first time, a basic bibliography—one wishes for more—and two comprehensive name and place indexes enhance the value of this fine study.

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THE RETURN OF GERMANY: A TALE OF TWO COUNTRIES. By *Norbert Muhlen*. (Chicago, Henry Regnery, 1953, pp. 310, \$4.50.) This book stands in a special place among the many recent studies of contemporary Germany. The author is a German journalist who has—the jacket blurb reminds us—"covered Germany . . . for the *Readers Digest*, *New Leader*, *Commentary*, and *Commonweal*." The book was written under a grant from the Foundation for Foreign Affairs—the organization which also sponsored Freda Utley's *The High Cost of Vengeance*. Muhlen has produced a book that is as contradictory, provocative, and important as his subject. In his strange and alarming foreword, Muhlen insists that Germany has heretofore been misrepresented and misunderstood. For this, three agencies are to blame. The *New York Times*, the author says, deliberately distorts the true picture of Germany by

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

concentrating on dramatic stories of neo-Nazism. American anthropologists and social psychologists are also guilty of flagrant distortion. They use "odds and ends of history, anthropology, and psychology" to conduct what Muhlen calls a "campaign of hatred against the Germans." A third enemy of Germany, of the author, and of truth is even more menacing—if much more illusive: it is "Soviet propaganda." This enemy is illusive because the term as here used is so broadly applied. Thus the Morgenthau Plan was "ghostwritten by secret agents of the Communist conspiracy" (p. 10); and correspondents who report neo-Nazi tendencies are—or tend to be—spokesmen for the "Soviet machine of shaping American opinion" which has "conjured up the neo-Nazi specter so often . . . that many people in America have begun to fear it is real" (p. 12). After criticizing the psychological approach and implying that the threat of renewed authoritarianism is a mere figment of the nefarious and ubiquitous Communist mind, Muhlen then proceeds to use the social-psychological approach to demonstrate clearly—if not consciously—that the authoritarian, anti-democratic *Geist* is in fact no "conjured up specter." The evidence shines through his best pages. Here is a brilliant and incisive discussion of the *unpolitische* German, the *Privatmann*, who is once more responding to the challenge of political participation with a shrug of his shoulders and a desire to be let alone. Here is pictured the strident irredentism of the expellees and the threat of a new Soviet-German rapprochement. The sensitive fingers of the author probe the mind of the disillusioned German youth. When Hitler's Reich came crashing down, many of them decided—as one of them told this reviewer—to become "fanatical democrats." But democracy has not given them all the answers. Consequently, they feel that it too "has failed them." These young people, Muhlen reports, now see the "bad side" of Nazism—like those "excesses" of Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen—but they tend to agree with fifty per cent of all Germans that "Nazism was a good idea badly carried out" (p. 46). The old obsequiousness to *Obrigkeit* is still present as Muhlen shows with telling examples. In short, the revival of a type of militant authoritarianism is a much more subtle problem than Mr. Muhlen suggests—though he demonstrates it with more evidence than he realizes. Few, perhaps, will quarrel with the author's immensely sympathetic treatment of Adenauer. But many who remember the way in which the Enabling Act was passed will not recognize the Catholic Center as "the party which opposed the Nazis" (p. 98). The German working class is here described as the largest group supporting Hitler. The author maintains that the part played by the industrialists, the Junkers, and the upper classes was negligible. Indeed, it is a "legend of Communist and Marxist origins" that these groups contributed to the rise of German Fascism. The impressive intellectual and cultural output of the 1920's is here dismissed as merely the product of Germany's "Red Decade." This was the time, the author says, when ("as in America in the 1930's and early 1940's") the cultural life of Germany was "controlled by Communists and their fellow-traveling camp followers and dupes . . ." (p. 277). Students of contemporary German economy will be surprised to discover that Adenauer has "put an end to Liberal capitalism" and has ushered in the welfare state. The *Lastenausgleichsgesetz* of May, 1952, according to Muhlen, has actually realized a share-the-burden plan. "Almost," he concludes, "a share-the-wealth plan" (p. 254). There are very few errors in historical fact. It might be pointed out, however, that the Nazis did not murder Karl Liebknecht. The Nazi party received its name in Munich in the early summer of 1920. Liebknecht was murdered in Berlin on January 15, 1919, by one Runge, a member of the Volunteer Division of Horse Guards, who had never heard of the Nazis. This writer would agree with Telford Taylor's recent review: Muhlen's book is as valuable as it is



dangerous. In spite of the dangers of his approach and the limitations of his study, the author gives the most perceptive and penetrating analysis which has yet appeared of contemporary Germany. Whatever else is read on this important subject, Mühlen's controversial and articulate study should also be read.

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*Gaudens Megaro*

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## Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer

BACKGROUND OF THE MIDDLE EAST. By Ernest Jackh, et al. (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1952, pp. viii, 236, \$3.50.) This book aims to attract both "the scholar and person who wants to attain a deeper insight into world conditions than can be found in the newspaper and news magazine," as is stated on the dust jacket. Unfortunately, both classes of readers are almost sure to be disappointed in the book as a whole. With only 218 pages of text the material is necessarily spread thin because there are twenty-two articles of virtually identical length that range from ancient times to the present and touch on history, religion, law, economics, archaeology, etc. Such important areas and subjects as Iran and North Africa, the Islamic religion, psychology of peoples, structure of governments, and literature are practically ignored. On the other hand, too much attention is paid to peripheral topics of less significance from the point of view of the modern Middle East, the interpretation of which was the *raison d'être* of the book. The articles on ancient Christianity and Judaism will undoubtedly stimulate the specialist; and scholar and nonscholar alike will enjoy and profit from the few dealing with the contemporary scene. However, the layman will find all the others generally unsatisfactory since they often presuppose some prior knowledge or are either too general or too dense in statistics and purely factual data to be readily grasped. A further handicap to pleasurable reading is a lack of vitality of style that characterizes more than half of the selections. This is due to the fact that they were originally written for the 1952 edition of the *Encyclopedia Americana* by a host of authors (who are not identified).

S. G.

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## Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard<sup>1</sup>

THE RISE AND SPLENDOR OF THE CHINESE EMPIRE. By René Grousset. Translated by Anthony Watson-Gandy and Terence Gordon. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1953, pp. 312, \$6.00.) The title of this readable translation of the late René Grousset's *Histoire de la Chine* (Paris, 1942) is more appropriate to the text than was the original title. The book does in fact emphasize the "splendours"—achievements in the arts, the dramatic scenes, the spectacular depravities of Chinese emperors. It is rich in charming description and vivid characterization; it is poor in its account of the dynamics of Chinese history, of significant institutional change. It lacks a theme, and it lacks coherence. One among several possible motifs of Chinese history is stated early in chapter II, "The Expansion of a Race of Pioneers," and could have served as a useful theme around which to build a history of China. But, even though Chinese colonization has continued to the present day, it is scarcely mentioned in the later chapters of Grousset's work. The book abounds in stereotyped "equivalences" which do not contribute either to Chinese or comparative history. Ch'in Shih-huang-ti is a "Chinese Caesar," the southern dynasties in the first period of disunion are a "Byzantium," the second Sui emperor is a "Xerxes," an empress is an "Agrippina," etc. Most of these characterizations are extremely dubious. They were no doubt intended to suggest that Chinese history is not eccentric to but comparable to that of the West, yet the image of leadership which the word "Caesar" conjures up in the mind of the Western reader is more likely to distort than to clarify the figure of Ch'in Shih-huang-ti. No doubt high seasoning is meant to stimulate the jaded palate of the general reader, but is it proper to regale such readers with stories and accounts of doubtful provenance? The debauches of the Hunnish rulers are titillating reading, but they are described by Chinese Confucian moralists who hated these foreigners and what they did to China. Chinese statistics on war casualties and massacres are horrifying, but the serious historian weighs and qualifies all such figures. For all its charm and readability Grousset's book less accurately reflects the

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.



current state of Chinese scholarship than did his *Histoire de l'Extrême Orient*. The uncritical attitude toward Chinese historical sources has been noted. In the realm of interpretation too, the book relies on somewhat passé theories. For example the "desiccation of the steppe" has been seriously discussed and, as an explanation of nomadic invasions, seriously modified over the last twenty years; it should not be baldly restated without qualification as Grousset does on pages 55-56. The translators have chosen to drop the notes giving credit to Sung-nien Hsu, Marcel Granet, and others for their translations from the Chinese. This is hardly fair unless—as seems unlikely—the translators have made fresh renderings of the originals. Despite these shortcomings the writing has considerable pace and verve, the book is attractively made, and it may well find a wide lay audience.

ARTHUR F. WRIGHT, *Stanford University*

SALT FOR THE DRAGON: A PERSONAL HISTORY OF CHINA, 1908-1945. By *Esson M. Gale*. (Lansing, Michigan State College Press, 1953, pp. x, 225, \$4.00.) Dr. Gale, who went to China in the foreign service of the United States, spent the greater part of his career there as an able and highly valued officer of the Chinese salt administration, which collected, transported, and distributed salt to the people of China. That administration levied upon that traffic a revenue which the Chinese government had pledged as security for an international loan. Dr. Gale was thus representing not only his employer the government of China but also the holders of Chinese bonds. To the historian and to the casual reader Dr. Gale has rendered a priceless service because he has written this delightfully gossipy personal account of life among the Chinese and especially the peculiar life in the Chinese treaty ports as he and other treaty port dwelling foreigners knew it during the troubled years from 1909 to 1945. He knew and understood the treaty port dweller as few others did, for the conditions of his service required that he spend much of his time in the treaty ports and among the influential foreigners and Chinese who lived there. Treaty port dwellers secluded themselves behind walls, in Western-styled buildings, divided from each other by race and nationality. Life centered upon the activities of the successful and the well-to-do among whom privilege is frequently confused with right. He has summed up the treaty port dwellers' view of the Chinese among whom they lived in a sentence which appears toward the end of the epilogue: "To be sure, those of us who knew our China could admit its deplorable social, economic and political conditions, ineluctable to over populated Asiatic countries." I assume that that means that there was no solution to these problems of the peoples of overcrowded countries. Apparently, for the moment at least, a more ruthless, and certainly a more dedicated, people believe that there are solutions to be found through compulsion. Perhaps this is the crux of the trouble between Westerner and Oriental at this time. The treaty port dwelling Westerner had no solution to offer and he has departed. To those readers interested in names and places the absence of an index is annoying. Let us be eternally grateful, however, to Dr. Gale for this very readable narrative by one who was "also there" and who remembered and wrote it all down while there was still time.

NELSON TRUSLER JOHNSON, *Washington, D. C.*

A SHORT HISTORY OF INDIA. By *W. H. Moreland* and *Atul Chandra Chatterjee*. (3d ed.; New York, Longmans, Green, 1953, pp. xi, 580, \$5.00.) The second edition of this popular work supplemented the first edition by dealing more fully with the period 1919-1935 and by adding material on the period 1935-1943. The present edition adds two chapters on the period 1942-1947, ending with partition and the transfer of power. Except for these last two chapters the third edition is merely a reprint

of the second edition. A supplementary index is added for the last two chapters. This is a good one-volume history of India for a Western reader who has little or no acquaintance with the subject. Occasional bibliographical footnotes will guide the interested reader into extensive treatments of some periods and subjects. However, this bibliographical guidance is too casual to be of use to a serious student. The brief chapter on Hinduism, for example, offers not a single reference for further reading on this important subject. Addition of an up-to-date bibliography in this edition would have greatly improved its usefulness, since the footnotes refer, with one exception, to books published only before 1935. A wealth of new material has appeared since then. As compared with similar histories for other areas of the world, this work rates in the academic picture as suitable for high school or junior college students. It is impossible to do justice to the wide panorama of Indian history in a volume of 580 pages. For example, the Indus civilization is covered in a little over a page and a half. And to illustrate how sketchy is the treatment in general it may be noted that the name of Jawaharlal Nehru, along with a number of other prominent Indian molders of political and historical trends, is not mentioned in the second edition. Nehru is twice passingly referred to by name only in one of the two final chapters of the third edition. Probably the chief asset of this work is the simplicity and clarity of style. It reads easily and does not assume that the reader already has an intimate acquaintance with any particular subject. If it continues to serve as an inspiration to further study, it will for a time serve a good purpose. It seems to this reviewer that its usefulness will not survive a decade, by which time a textbook of more solid scope and content will have become a necessity.

HORACE I. POLEMAN, *Library of Congress*

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## United States History

Wood Gray<sup>1</sup>

### GENERAL

FRUIT OF AN IMPULSE: FORTY-FIVE YEARS OF THE CARNEGIE FOUNDATION, 1905-1950. By *Howard J. Savage*. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1953, pp. viii, 407, \$6.00.) A valuable addition to the history of American educational philanthropy is Howard J. Savage's *Fruit of an Impulse*, which records in a lively style the origin and activities of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. The "impulse" issued from the philosophy that "the man of wealth" becomes "trustee and agent for his poorer brethren." So, for his brethren in "the teaching staff in universities, colleges and technical schools," Andrew Carnegie in April, 1905, transferred "Ten Millions of Dollars of Bonds to the Trustees [followed in April, 1908, by a second gift of five millions] . . . the reserve to provide retiring pensions under such conditions as the Trustees may from time to time adopt." The ways in which the early trustees acted under this authority became a topic of heated controversy in the academic world. In his chronicle of this period, Dr. Savage appears a bit too ready to ascribe "unfathomable motives" and "machinations" to the critics of the Foundation's initial policies and procedures. He is, however, clearly right in his tribute to the "remarkable industry" and the "intellectual integrity" of the first president of the Foundation, Dr. Henry S. Pritchett, "and his colleagues," who were "a remarkable group of men." The author tells how the Foundation's financial policies were later adjusted to meet "storm warnings" of increasing pension loads and how the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association of America was inaugurated in 1918, with a revision of its rules in 1927. The Foundation, fulfilling Mr. Carnegie's impulse had, up to 1950, distributed more than fifty-seven million dollars in retiring allowances for college teachers and administrators and in pensions for their wives. Dr. Savage reports, with ample details, Carnegie Foundation activities under later presidents: Henry Suzzallo, 1930-33; Walter A. Jessup, 1933-44; and Oliver C. Carmichael, 1945-53. Under these administrations, the Foundation's second purpose has been emphasized: advancement of teaching as a profession. To foster such advancement there have been more than ninety investigations in higher education which the Carnegie Corporation of New York (established in 1911) has financed at a rate of about \$100,000 annually. Most helpful for the general reader are Dr. Savage's summaries of Carnegie-supported studies such as medical education (Abraham Flexner); engineering education (C. R. Mann); legal education (J. Redlich and others); dental education (W. J. Gies); British and

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents, except where otherwise indicated.

American athletic inquiries (Howard J. Savage and others); American examinations (I. L. Kandel); graduate education (W. Carson Ryan and others). Outstanding among the demonstration type of investigation were the Pennsylvania studies (W. S. Learned, Ben D. Wood, C. R. Langmeier, and others); the co-operative graduate testing program which led to the establishment of Educational Testing Service, Inc.; and the program of grants-in-aid in southern higher institutions (O. C. Carmichael, R. M. Lester, and committees).

RAYMOND WALTERS, *University of Cincinnati*

THE YOUNGER AMERICAN SCHOLAR: HIS COLLEGIATE ORIGINS. By *Robert H. Knapp* and *Joseph J. Greenbaum*. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press; Middletown, Conn., Wesleyan University Press, 1953, pp. xiii, 122, \$3.00.) This study undertakes three tasks: to define a group of individuals "who show promise of future intellectual achievements"; to use those so defined as the basis for index figures of relative productivity of young scholars for various types of institutions; and to consider the relation of the index figures to "the demographic and socio-psychological factors which favor superior productivity of scholars." Because it has some of its roots in the earlier study by Knapp and Goodrich, *Origins of American Scientists* (1952), and because, as the authors point out, its findings are in certain places contradictory to the earlier study, the two reports should be considered as a unit. By using four categories of "promising individuals," the authors here produce a roster population in excess of 25,000 younger scholars, 52 per cent holding Ph.D.'s. But, for their statistical analyses, they immediately eliminate 67 per cent of this population by using only those receiving baccalaureates in and after 1946, reducing the number of Ph.D.'s to approximately 24 per cent. Furthermore they *do not* include teaching and research assistantships as criteria of promising individuals. Additional reduction in sample size occurs in calculating institutional index figures because of incomplete or dubious data. Finally, the index used—rate per 1,000 graduates—yields values markedly skewed and statistically undependable. While the authors are careful to point out these various defects, they do not sufficiently see the impact of the defects on their conclusions. For 138 liberal arts colleges and 91 universities, the index figures per 1,000 graduates are 6.9 and 6.7 respectively. The fifty highest institutions show indexes ranging from 10 to more than 60 promising scholars per 1,000 graduates. The authors state that the creative and scholarly output of the nation "in general rests on a particularly narrow base within the American system of higher education, with some three score institutions, at the most, showing significant and impressive rates of production, while among the remainder (some 800) the dedicated younger scholar is a rare exception among their graduates." One Minnesota institution, listed with an index of one per 1,000, has reported on its own "promising individuals" under the spur of the unfortunate publicity given to the present volume. By *accurate* application of the criteria, its male index should be five per 1,000; by the inclusion of graduate teaching and research assistantships and additional fellowships in the calculation base, an index of 30 per 1,000 male graduates is attained. One may discount the minor and highly irritating errors of entry and text making it difficult to follow subgroup sizes and index calculations (notably in Table 3 and chapter III). But, more important, the design of this study and the decisions yielding its sample appear to underestimate the phenomenon studied and to bias the results. To this reviewer, at least, the report is not an adequate contribution to an understanding of the collegiate origins of the younger American scholar.

JOHN G. DARLEY, *University of Minnesota*

EPIDEMICS IN COLONIAL AMERICA. By *John Duffy*. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1953, pp. xi, 274, \$4.50.) There has been no systematic general

study of the impact of communicable diseases upon American colonial society since Noah Webster wrote on the subject in 1799. Professor Duffy has now successfully filled this gap with a book which takes advantage of existing specialized studies but which depends primarily on his own search of contemporary documents including especially newspapers, diaries, and private correspondence. The book is organized topically, each important disease or group of diseases being treated in a separate chapter. That on smallpox, the most dreaded and one of the most spectacular causes of epidemics, occupies more than one third of the text, although in its total social and economic cost to the colonies the author ranks smallpox only fourth after malaria, dysentery, and the respiratory group of diseases. There were several dramatic but relatively limited outbreaks of yellow fever and diphtheria, while measles, scarlet fever, typhus, and typhoid epidemics also took their toll, though to a lesser degree. Whooping cough and mumps also appeared but apparently neither cholera nor plague ever menaced the English colonies. Among the most interesting subjects discussed is "variolation," or inoculation for smallpox, which was much more widely and successfully practiced in America than in England. The author concludes that while the procedure drastically reduced the death rate it undoubtedly contributed to the spread of the disease because of the general failure to isolate patients during treatment. In interpreting his evidence the author is conservative both as to the identification of particular ailments from the often inadequate descriptions of clinical symptoms and as to the numbers of cases and the death rate in individual outbreaks. This volume should serve as a useful addition to our understanding of the health factor in the colonies and so of an important aspect of early American society in general.

LEONARD W. LABAREE, *Yale University*

AMERICA REBELS: NARRATIVES OF THE PATRIOTS. Edited, with an Introduction, by *Richard M. Dorson*. (New York, Pantheon, 1953, pp. xi, 347, \$5.00.) Professor Dorson presents in this book a skillfully culled and meticulously edited group of first-hand narratives (fourteen in number) contemporaneously composed, for the most part, of episodes of the American Revolution, both at sea and on land. The selections, intelligently made, are so deftly integrated as to furnish a veritable epitome of the War for Independence. Some of the so-called "Narratives" are drawn from diaries and journals of participants, while others are accounts especially composed for the public eye. All of them have been previously published, and some of them are well known to scholars. The work falls into eight parts: (1) "The Opening Shots," (2) "Prisoners of War," (3) "The Loyalists," (4) "War at Sea," (5) "The Crucial Winter of 1777-1778," (6) "War in the West," (7) "The Closing Shots," and (8) "Postwar." Thus nearly every aspect of the war is illustrated in one way or another. The descriptions of the battles of Lexington and Concord by the Rev. Jonas Clark, an eyewitness, the *Serapis* and the *Bonhomme Richard* by Nathaniel Fanning, a midshipman on the latter, Saratoga by the Baroness von Riedesel, an eyewitness whose husband commanded the Brunswick regiments, the Illinois country, by Colonel George Rogers Clark, and Yorktown by Dr. James Thacher are all vividly written. Outstanding among these, in my view, are Fanning's description of the naval engagement and Dr. Thacher's account of the siege of Yorktown and the surrender of Cornwallis. Ethan Allen's depiction of his adventures as a prisoner of war, and Thomas Dring's and Thomas Andros' narratives of their vicissitudes as prisoners on the prison ship *Jersey*, on which many hundreds died of wounds, disease, or starvation, are equal to the best of Daniel De Foe. Nicholas Cresswell, a young Englishman on a visit to Virginia in 1774, found himself caught up in the milieu of revolution; excerpts from



his journal contain pertinent observations on the course of the war until his repatriation in 1777. More interesting, perhaps, is James Moody's narration of his exploits as a New Jersey Tory who served the British from 1777 until the end of the war. The hardships of Washington's troops at Valley Forge are delineated by Dr. Albigeance Waldo, surgeon to the army, who throws some new light on that facet of the struggle. Most interesting of all the pieces reproduced in the book is the story of the adventures of Israel Potter, who was captured on board an American privateer and shipped to England; he escaped, and became an emissary of unnamed British friends of America to Benjamin Franklin. He was subsequently reduced to poverty and compelled thereby to remain in England for fifty years. He returned to his native state of Rhode Island in 1823, at the age of seventy-nine, but was unable to secure a pension because of his absence from the country when the first pension law was enacted.

CLARENCE E. CARTER, *The National Archives*

**THE NATION, VOLUMES 1-105, NEW YORK, 1865-1917: INDEXES OF TITLES AND CONTRIBUTORS.** Compiled by *Daniel C. Haskell*. In two volumes. (New York, New York Public Library, 1951-53, pp. iii, 577, iv, 539, \$25.00.) Historians know that much valuable research material is locked up in newspapers and periodicals; but without satisfactory indexes to assist them much of it will remain locked. From 1865 to 1918 the *Nation*, in spite of a circulation that rarely rose above 12,000, was one of America's most influential magazines. Under Edwin L. Godkin, his associates and successors, it established itself as "The Bible of the Intellectuals." Reactionary in its attitudes toward labor and the discontented farmers, it stood staunchly for political honesty and the merit system in civil service and provided sound, if conservative, criticism for literature and scholarship. The chief difficulty in its indexing has been the anonymity of its authors and reviewers. From a variety of intra-office records and indefatigable sleuthing in other sources, the retired bibliographer of the New York Public Library has made a notable contribution in the identification of these writers. The two volumes represent the fruits of his work from two different approaches: the first chronologically as the items appeared, with authors given for each; the second by authors alphabetically arranged. A subject index would probably not in this case have been practicable. All American historians working in the period will thank Mr. Haskell for having unlocked the door to this treasure room. W.G.

**AMERICA FIRST: THE BATTLE AGAINST INTERVENTION, 1940-1941.** By *Wayne S. Cole*. (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1953, pp. xi, 305, \$3.50.) Here is a valuable monograph for all historians who find themselves referring, in class or lecture, to the America First Committee, leading noninterventionist pressure group between August, 1940, and December, 1941. Professor Cole has written a careful and well-documented study of the organization which engaged in the great debate of over a decade ago with William Allen White's Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. Comparison with Walter Johnson's study of the White group (*The Battle against Isolation*, Chicago, 1944) is appropriate, because we now possess companion volumes which record the techniques, ambitions, successes, and failures of the two major groups which sought to represent and influence American opinion after the fall of France in 1940. Professor Johnson's is a sprightlier and less prosaic work, written with an unconcealed respect for not only White but the aims of his committee; Professor Cole's personal views are successfully hidden, and what he thinks of both General Robert E. Wood, the committee's chairman, and its policies are matters that he has successfully reserved for treatment elsewhere. The tendency of many historians

to lose themselves in the diplomacy and the politics of the period, in an effort either to glorify or to villify Franklin Roosevelt, meets a useful corrective in this book. Professor Cole's detailed study is an impressive reminder of the great role which public opinion played in the development of American foreign policy prior to Pearl Harbor. It also suggests, although probably unintentionally, a significant parallel between the unsuccessful efforts of the America First Committee to conduct the foreign policy debate on a peace-or-war level with the efforts of recent revisionist historians to write of the period as if the choice before both the people and the government was simply a matter of war or peace. Professor Cole has had access to the files of the committee and to papers of many of its important members. He canvasses the contribution of Republicans, Nazi agents, anti-Semites, and business leaders (these categories sometimes overlapped) to the strength and weakness of the committee. He makes a significant contribution toward placing in proper perspective the history of a period which has been badly mangled by some recent writers, who will have no basis for asserting, from the book itself, that Professor Cole is either a revisionist or a "court historian."

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## NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

## THE PILGRIM READER: THE STORY OF THE PILGRIMS AS TOLD BY THEMSELVES AND THEIR CONTEMPORARIES FRIENDLY AND UNFRIENDLY.

By George F. Willison. (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, 1953, pp. xvii, 585, \$5.95.) This *Pilgrim Reader* is obviously intended for the general public. The student will prefer his sources in the original form and the specialist will find only familiar facts in the notes and appendixes. The bulk of the material is from Bradford, Mourt, and *Good News from New England*. A hundred pages are devoted to the years in England and Holland and to the voyage; a second hundred carry the narrative to 1623; a third to 1627; a fourth to 1634, leaving only a hundred pages for all the rest of Pilgrim history. However, this is perhaps as most would prefer. Descriptive narrative and critical notes by the author bridge the gaps between documents. The author, now an elderly man, is not a professional historian, though formerly professor of Latin and Greek, and since his earlier years editor, writer, and public relations consultant. He seems to have read all the Pilgrim literature and has produced an honest and careful account. Some of his judgments and comments will be questioned, for instance the statement (p. 91) that Standish is today the best known of the Pilgrims. He has stressed, as in an earlier book, the point, always known but not often enough emphasized, that only forty-one on the *Mayflower* were religious refugees from Leyden, the forty "strangers" being others from England; five hired hands and eighteen servants completing the total. However, he could have stressed more the fact, also old, that Standish, Alden, Priscilla, Mary Chilton, Hopkins, Howland, and many others later prominent at Plymouth were strangers or hired hands. The traditional view is substantially correct. Most of the *Mayflower* contingent became in every sense members of Plymouth Colony. So of later strangers like Thomas Prentice and some later hired hands.

ROLAND G. USHER, *Washington University*

MEETINGHOUSE HILL, 1630-1783. By Ola Elizabeth Winslow. (New York, Macmillan, 1952, pp. viii, 344, \$4.00.) Miss Winslow's essay is one of those seemingly easy triumphs of which few American historians appear capable. In a charming, witty, discursive fashion it tells more of human experience and of social evolution than any formal and ponderous volume could begin to encompass. Ostensibly, the book is the story of the meetinghouse, of the physical structure and of what went on around it. Because Miss Winslow knows how much "everything that concerned the meetinghouse mattered and mattered intensely," she can make of such affairs as the controversy over regular singing or the endless disputes about seating the congregation vital chapters in the development of the people. She has an intimate knowledge of a hundred communities, but her method should be held up to admiration before every writer of a doctoral dissertation: she selects episodes for their representative value (as well as for their intrinsic amusement), and with two or three tells what was happening in all the towns. It is difficult, in fact impossible, for a modern chronicler to recount these local squabbles without the support of a sense of humor. Miss Winslow

gives hers free play, to the enhancement of her style, but she never forgets the intensity. The ease and grace of her manner become an oblique but immensely successful way of confronting us with the passion that inflamed even the meanest or most ludicrous of village contentions. The important thesis of the book is a demonstration of just how a society which in the middle of the eighteenth century was far gone in factions and intestine hatreds found a new cohesion in the Revolution. "From Dissent to Independence had been a long and not always a direct path, but it had been a path to a predictable, not to say inevitable goal." A clergy who for decades had been desperately trying to maintain dignity in the face of disintegrating congregations became spokesmen and leaders of the people; new wine was poured into the bottles of old sermons. Miss Winslow makes comprehensible that out of a long period of seeming decay and turmoil emerged a consciousness which was not what the founders had intended, but which was legitimately derived from them. She makes us understand, and enjoy the process of understanding, the importance of this element in the creation of an American mentality.

PERRY MILLER, *Harvard University*

THE EMBATTLED FARMERS: A MASSACHUSETTS COUNTRYSIDE IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *Lee Nathaniel Newcomer*. (New York, King's Crown Press, 1953, pp. x, 274, \$3.50.) Shays' Rebellion is a subject of perennial interest to all American historians. Since the publication in the twenties of J. T. Adams' second and third volumes on New England, there has been felt a great need for a rounded study of western Massachusetts in the era of the Revolution, one which would explain the origins of the Shaysites. Mr. Newcomer supplies such an account in his *Embattled Farmers*. Opening with a chapter on the rural folk, he proceeds rapidly to deal with the rise of discontent before 1775, the outbreak of the revolt, "Yankee Rebels" and "Friends of the King," the war on the home front, paper money troubles, and finally the legacy of the conflict in Massachusetts. Drawing together the many recent studies on aspects of his topic with fresh investigations of his own, Mr. Newcomer reaches some interesting conclusions about the social structure of the region. Most middle-aged and substantial people were Whigs, and family connections proved decisive in determining party affiliations. "The revolt against Great Britain was not led by land-bankers." He demonstrates convincingly that in this area the Revolution was not an uprising against the local aristocracy and that there was a large measure of continuity in officeholding between 1760 and 1783. From the outbreak of the war to the adoption of the Constitution of 1780 the towns were virtually sovereign in Massachusetts. As a result social and economic conditions have to be studied in part on the local level. Mr. Newcomer gives them a clear and informing but rather sparing treatment. We still need to be told, despite this useful book, exactly how the seaboard radicals swung the interior in behind their movement after the dismal failure of the Convention of 1768. What influence did Connecticut radicalism exert farther up the valley? And what results in western Massachusetts did the Congregational-Presbyterian union against the Anglicans have? One would have liked some account of the attempt to found a college in the West and its connection with sectionalism. Evidence exists to show considerable travel and communication in the interior even if roads were poor by modern standards. Save for mixed metaphors, such barbarisms as "returnees," and an unfortunate attempt at fine writing here and there, the book is clear and readable. The most serious defect is the lack of a map, without which many passages cannot be understood. This actually is a "slim" volume: 165 pages of text, 94 of notes and bibliography. Although it is gratifying to

read a short doctoral thesis, this one has perhaps been too rigorously pared down. At Brown University recently, a dissertation was prepared on this same subject, one which treats more satisfactorily class arrangements and particularly the Berkshire Constitutionalists. Unfortunately, this study will now probably never see print. It is a curious twist of historical fate that allows an important subject such as this to lie untouched for years, and then suddenly permits two students in nearby institutions to tackle it unbeknown to one another.

CARL BRIDENBAUGH, *University of California, Berkeley*

**THE GOLDEN AGE OF HOMESPUN.** By *Jared Van Wagenen, Jr.* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1953, pp. xviii, 280, \$3.50.) The age of homespun as Mr. Van Wagenen defines it extended from the early eighteenth century to about the Civil War, when manufactured products made available by cheap transportation smothered most domestic crafts. It embraced the northeastern region of the United States between the frontier of settlement and the coastal towns, but excluding the commercialized amenities of the latter. The term itself Mr. Van Wagenen found in Horace Bushnell, and it designates the complex of occupational and domestic technologies by means of which the rural American provided himself with virtually all the goods and services which constituted his material existence. The golden age of the era came at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and it is with the first half of the century that the author is chiefly concerned. The material is drawn almost exclusively from New York state. Similar studies of other regions, especially in the South, would be of great comparative interest. Mr. Van Wagenen is a redoubtable antiquarian whose long and active life as a farmer on the ancestral acres in Schoharie County, New York, has not interfered with assiduous collection of the oral traditions concerning the farm and craft techniques as practiced a century ago. He has supplemented these recollections with more orthodox types of research in state census reports and contemporary agricultural journals, and he is familiar with the tools and machines in the Farmers' Museum at Cooperstown and elsewhere. The result is a chatty and informative book which contributes both to the history of technology and the social history of agriculture. There are drawings of many of the devices discussed. Some of the topics covered include the clearing of land and log cabin construction, the management of crops and farm animals, the making of tools and farm implements, milling, tanning and leather crafts, maple sugaring, charcoal burning, coopering, and several domestic crafts. Readers may regret the somewhat superficial treatment of several topics. Mr. Van Wagenen's uninhibited enthusiasm for the culture in which these arts were widely practiced is so infectious that one is tempted to share his sentimental nostalgia for a bygone age.

STOW PERSONS, *State University of Iowa*

**THREE CENTURIES OF NEW HAVEN, 1638-1938.** By *Rollin G. Osterweis*, Assistant Professor of History and Fellow of Jonathan Edwards College, Yale University. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1953, pp. xv, 541, \$6.00.) Dr. Osterweis has produced a study of the town and city of New Haven against a background of colonial, revolutionary, and national history. Throughout its three centuries New Haven has emphasized religious, educational, and economic development. Founded by a group of conservative London Puritans, the town restricted itself to one Congregational church for more than a century. The religion of the founders remained dominant until the Connecticut constitution of 1818 provided for religious liberty. Although New Haven had a schoolmaster in the year of the town's founding, a

satisfactory system of public education came only in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1716 all except two of the trustees of the Collegiate School at Saybrook voted to remove the school to New Haven but it was not until 1718 that the Connecticut assembly authorized the removal and renamed the institution Yale College. Throughout the colonial period a good harbor was New Haven's chief asset, but this was changed by Jefferson's Embargo and the War of 1812. Eli Whitney was the father of New Haven's industrial rise. As early as 1798 he visualized the need of the national government for guns in quantity production. Working out a procedure of uniform interchangeable parts, he established the Whitney Gun Factory just beyond New Haven's city limits. From this beginning, there were four hundred factories in New Haven in the year of its Tercentenary. With the industrial revolution came a revolution in transportation. Turnpike roads, a canal company, and railroads appeared in the first half of the nineteenth century. New Haven had a few Negro slaves in colonial times but in 1784 Connecticut provided for gradual emancipation, and the last Negro slave was sold on New Haven Green in 1825. The nineteenth century brought immigrants, at first Irish and German and after 1880 Italian and eastern European. By the year 1900 twenty-eight per cent of the population of New Haven was foreign born. Several inaccuracies caught the attention of the reviewer. When John Davenport first left England, he went to Amsterdam, not Haarlem (p. 7). A careful examination of the Cotton Code discloses that, except for the two chapters dealing with crimes, it is not based "on the ordinances of ancient Israel" (p. 17). It embodied the laws and practices of Massachusetts at the time the code was drawn up, supported by marginal scriptural citations to prove that those laws and practices were in harmony with the Word of God. The Eaton Code of 1656 was less an elaboration of the Cotton Code (p. 43) than it was an application of the laws of Massachusetts printed in 1648 to the New Haven Colony. The duke of York never embarked for America (p. 62). He was represented at the conquest of New Amsterdam by his deputy, Richard Nicolls. The so-called Connecticut toleration act of 1784 did not bring "legal toleration to all Christians" in Connecticut (p. 205). It exempted some dissenters from taxes to support the established Congregational Church.

ISABEL M. CALDER, *Wells College*

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## SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

- CONFEDERATE GEORGIA. By T. Conn Bryan. (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1953, pp. x, 299, \$4.50.) In wealth, population, railroad mileage, industrial production, and most of the other evidences of "progress and prosperity," only Virginia among the Confederate states surpassed Georgia. Historians will, therefore, find this concise account of wartime activities within a key Confederate state a useful work. In his fifteen chapters Dr. Bryan has described nearly every phase of life within Georgia between 1860 and 1865, beginning with an account of secession and offering descriptions of politics, finance, military operations, industry, transportation, farm-



ing, disloyalty to the Confederacy, women's activities, social life and diversions, the press and literary pursuits, education, and the churches; indeed, the only omissions of any consequence seem to be the topics of the courts and the law, crime and punishment, local government and trade. The diligence displayed in research is impressive, and the number and the character of the errors is trifling. Yet the book lacks literary luster, is occasionally needlessly repetitious, and sometimes belabors the obvious by stringing together a multiplicity of quotations. Consistently it adheres to familiar points of view; for example, most of the chapter called "The Sherman Invasion," if read to chapter meetings of the Daughters of the Confederacy, would doubtless be heartily applauded. Once (at the opening of the chapter on "Relations with the Confederacy") Dr. Bryan makes the novel observation that "considerable cooperation prevailed between the Confederate and Georgia administrations." Yet the remainder of the chapter gives little or no evidence of that "cooperation"; and most of his account of the relations between the Georgia government and the Davis administration is the usual story of ceaseless bickerings, cross-purposes, accusations, and recriminations. The method is strictly descriptive. Dr. Bryan seldom hazards an analysis, and he draws no conclusions about what Georgia contributed to the temporary successes or to the final downfall of the Confederacy.

JAMES RABUN, *Emory University*

JOSEPH W. FOLK OF MISSOURI. By *Louis G. Geiger*. [University of Missouri Studies, Volume XXV, Number 2.] (Columbia, Curators of the University of Missouri, 1953, pp. 206, cloth \$3.25, paper \$2.50.) This book is a biography of a political reformer who was also a leader during the Progressive era. As circuit attorney of St. Louis, his spectacular exposure of corruption in the municipal assembly and of the alliance between business and politics brought him national recognition. A tireless and persistent prosecutor of grafters and law violators, he was supported by those who feared that special privilege and civic dishonesty would destroy democratic government. Despite the hostility of the Democratic organization, Folk won in 1904 the nomination for governor and was the only Democrat elected on the state ticket. The emphasis on Folk as a fighter against corruption has obscured his notable record as governor. The author makes clear, however, that Folk's administration was characterized not only by rigid honesty, courageous enforcement of the law, and high standards of public administration, but also by the enactment of significant regulatory and social legislation. Leaving the governorship at the age of thirty-nine, Folk's subsequent political career was unsuccessful. He was defeated for the senatorial nomination in 1908, forced to withdraw in 1912 as a favorite son candidate for the presidential nomination, and decisively beaten in 1918 as his party's candidate for senator. These defeats resulted from his indifference to party management, personal aloofness, inability to retain the loyalty of his supporters, and the unrelenting hostility of the party organization. Perhaps more important was the fact that Folk, although honest, able, and public-spirited, had no fundamental political philosophy as the basis for a program of action. From 1909 to 1918, Folk engaged in public lecturing, served briefly as solicitor of the State Department, and for some time as chief counsel of the Interstate Commerce Commission. His last four years were spent in Washington as a successful international lawyer. The book combines an impartial appraisal of the politics and politicians of Missouri with the personal story of a political career of brilliant promise which ended in eclipse. Unfortunately, the volume is marred by immaturity of style and a distressing number of colloquialisms.

THOMAS S. BARCLAY, *Stanford University*

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## WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

BLACK ROBES IN LOWER CALIFORNIA. By *Peter Masten Dunne*, S.J. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1952, pp. x, 540, \$6.50.) After having chronicled the labors of the Jesuit missionaries in northwestern Mexico through a trilogy of volumes, Peter M. Dunne was predestined to deal similarly with the work of the Black Robes in their next field of activity, Baja California. What his next subject will be is not so evident. A century and two thirds of earlier contact, from Cortés onward, had taught the Spaniards that the peninsula, intermittently mistaken for an island, was a hard land. Accordingly, as special inducement to the Jesuits to undertake its reduction, two departures from the regular frontier technique were authorized. The military and the civilian settlers would be subject to Jesuit rule, and the Jesuits would be allowed to raise an endowment, the Pious Fund, for the additional support of their work in the province. Notwithstanding these concessions, converting the peninsula natives proved a thorny task. The land was difficult of access and stubbornly

unproductive. The natives were low in attainment, periodically rebellious, and slow to adjust to the new life. It took heroes such as Juan María Salvatierra and Juan de Ugarte to cope with the dangers and discouragements. Earlier writers from Taraval, Venegas, and Burriel to Bancroft and Engelhardt have revealed the general outline of this history. Dunne uses all their findings, plus the voluminous manuscript sources of both church and state, plus familiarity with the environment, plus a better awareness of the historical setting to which these labors related. The result is a much better rounded account, replete with detail on hitherto neglected aspects such as Taraval's visit to Cedros Island, and successful in individualizing almost the whole cosmopolitan staff of the order. The preface voices concern about possible bias. The vocabulary more than the kindly attitude reminds that the pen is clerical, but on practical matters there is no condoning of Jesuit mistakes. The book clearly rests on the premise of the worthiness of missionizing a people and a land, but one need not be of the cloth to go along with this interpretation. This book, in point of fact, is not partisan in flavor, but will impress as an enthusiastic yet discriminating account of some seventy years of arduous work against difficult odds. The result was to elevate Baja California at least one step above savagery and to develop it as the base from which Alta California could be occupied.

JOHN W. CAUGHEY, *University of California, Los Angeles*

CATHEDRALS IN THE WILDERNESS. By J. Herman Schauinger, College of St. Thomas. (Milwaukee, Bruce, 1952, pp. xiii, 334, \$4.00.) It is now over a century since Bishop Martin J. Spalding published his *Sketches of the Life, Times and Character of the Rt. Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget, First Bishop of Louisville* (Louisville, 1852). Meanwhile much has appeared to broaden our knowledge of early western Catholicism during the first half of the nineteenth century, and there was a need, therefore, for a fresh interpretation of the career of the first Catholic bishop of the new West. Mr. Schauinger has made good use of the manuscript collections at the University of Notre Dame and, too, of hitherto unpublished correspondence in the archives of the archdiocese of Baltimore and in local Kentucky Catholic archives, information which he has supplemented from many published sources and secondary works on American Catholicism between 1790 and 1850. One misses, however, Annabelle M. Melville's able biography, *Elizabeth Bayley Seton* (New York, 1951), which would have saved the author from the errors of saying that the two Kentucky foundations of 1812 were "the first distinctly American sisterhoods" (p. 76), a title which belongs to Mother Seton's Sisters of Charity founded in 1809, and of referring to these women as the Sisters of St. Joseph (p. 122). Likewise had he used Sister Mary Carol Schroeder's *The Catholic Church in the Diocese of Vincennes, 1847-1877* (Washington, 1946) he would not have confused Simon Lalumière with Celestine de la Hailandière as the second bishop of Vincennes (p. 285). Another study that would have stood him in good stead was Sister Agnes Geraldine McGann, *Nativism in Kentucky to 1860* (Washington, 1944), as George Paré's *The Catholic Church in Detroit, 1701-1888* (Detroit, 1951) would have strengthened his account of Flaget's administration of the church in Michigan. The volume brings out the struggles and hardships of frontier life as they related to the church, and the important place held by the first bishop of Bardstown is attested by the fact that virtually all the important Catholic figures of the age are met in these pages. Not only is this true of Catholic leaders but of others as well, for example, Henry Clay, who maintained a cordial friendship with Bishop Flaget for many years. Flaget reached his diocese in June, 1811, and from that time to his death in February, 1850, he was a

leading personality in all that pertained to the development and expansion of the church in the West. Mr. Schauinger has written an informative book, even if at times one might have wished for a more lively presentation and fewer minor factual errors or misprints. One of the principal defects of the work, in my opinion, is its failure to be clearly a biography of Flaget or a history of the Kentucky diocese; in attempting to serve both ends it has not entirely succeeded in satisfying either. And this confusion of purpose is reflected in the fanciful title of the volume which tells the prospective reader scarcely anything of the contents of the work. It would have been helpful if there had been included more data on the growth of Louisville as a commercial center to which there were attracted Catholic settlers in sufficient numbers to warrant the Holy See transferring the seat of the diocese there from Bardstown in February, 1841. A more ample account of the activities of young Martin Spalding, who returned from Rome in 1834 and who was to serve the aging Flaget with such striking success in a variety of diocesan posts before he became his coadjutor bishop in September, 1848, would also have enriched the story. A fuller development of the role of Spalding's Kentucky career would have been more to the point than the space devoted to the details of getting Bishop Bruté into Vincennes (pp. 281-89). Mr. Schauinger has, nonetheless, made a contribution to our knowledge of frontier Catholicism and all students of the religious and social aspects of western history in the first half of the last century will find the volume of profit.

JOHN TRACY ELLIS, *Catholic University of America*

JOHN McMILLAN: THE APOSTLE OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN THE WEST, 1752-1833. By *Dwight Raymond Guthrie*, Samuel P. Harbison Professor of Bible, Grove City College. (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1952, pp. x, 296, \$3.00.) This painstaking biography yields some material for general social history and much for regional Presbyterian history. Native of eastern Pennsylvania and graduate of the College of New Jersey, McMillan, after early missions to the frontier, settled in 1776 in what is now Washington County, Pennsylvania. From then until his death in 1833 he was a power in the land. He organized churches, helped educate candidates for the ministry, and founded the school that later became Washington and Jefferson College. Unfortunately, aside from sermons, lectures, and church records, his extant papers are meager. His journal, 1774-91 and 1820-33, printed as an appendix to this biography, runs less than sixty pages, the last fifty of which are largely confined to entries of the dates, places, and texts of his sermons. Much richer general information on the region is contained in journals of other preachers, among them David McClure and Bishop Asbury. But after McMillan settled in western Pennsylvania his farming, teaching, parish work, and many preaching trips probably left little time for secular writing. An expense account, 1820-33, is printed as another appendix. Information lacking in McMillan's papers, however, is partly supplied from the writings of his contemporaries. The general reader will find interest in the chapters entitled "Mission," "Church," "Education," "Politics," and "Personality." A section entitled "The Family," in chapter 3, bogs down in biographies of McMillan's brothers, sisters, and children. More interesting would be generalizations nowhere made—on the McMillan clan as representative of the westward movement and on the fact that, though three of John's four daughters married clergymen, none of his three sons was ordained. In general, the book gives adequate information, less adequate interpretation. The maps, as endpapers and elsewhere, are useful. Various slips in proofreading—among them transposed lines (pp. 62, 67)—are unworthy of a university press.

ELIZABETH HAWTHORN BUCK, *The National Archives*



THE COWMAN'S SOUTHWEST: BEING THE REMINISCENCES OF OLIVER NELSON, FREIGHTER, CAMP COOK, COWBOY, FRONTIERSMAN IN KANSAS, INDIAN TERRITORY, TEXAS AND OKLAHOMA, 1878-1893. Edited by *Angie Debo*, Oklahoma A. and M. College. [Western Frontiersmen Series, IV.] (Glendale, Calif., Arthur H. Clark, 1953, pp. 343, \$10.00.) The reviewer found this book rather frustrating at first and not until after more than a hundred pages could he bring himself to the point of being interested in the narrative. By that time he began to appreciate the story that Oliver Nelson was trying to tell of his varied, rich experiences on the Southwest frontier and to accept the inadequate literary style. Angie Debo, who edited the manuscript, could have done a better job of tying the many loose threads together without spoiling the flavor of Nelson's own words. Once the reader accepts the absence of continuity in the story, he finds it difficult to put the book down, for this is not an ordinary cowboy reminiscence. It is a story of crude behavior by men who rode for some of the cattle barons of Texas and Indian Territory at a time when barbed wire was playing hob with the open range. Contrary to romantic legend, these cowboys were not knights in shining armor. They frequently stole horses "on the side," occasionally robbed banks and stores, and always showed little kindness for Indians, Negroes, and nesters. They could even shoot a man in the back. Yet, the cowboys possessed a certain code of ethics that represented the best of frontier tradition: they unhesitatingly toiled long hours and suffered endless hardships in return for meager wages; they risked their lives for their friends; and most strangers at their camp invariably were greeted with the invitation to "light and fill up." Nelson tells his story without any attempt to moralize, and the reader is free to judge the participants according to his own standards. From 1878 to 1893 he eked out a grubby existence as a freighter, camp cook, cowboy, station keeper, and homesteader. Loneliness and boredom would more adequately describe his experiences than would glamour and romance, yet he had plenty of moments of high adventure. Although hundreds of cowboy biographies and autobiographies have been published in the past half-century, there always seems to be room for one more. *The Cowman's Southwest* certainly is not the best of the lot, but it should rank well above average.

W. EUGENE HOLLON, *University of Oklahoma*

THE HORSEMEN OF THE AMERICAS AND THE LITERATURE THEY INSPIRED. By *Edward Larocque Tinker*. (New York, Hastings House, 1953, pp. 149, \$15.00.) This handsomely printed and beautifully illustrated book, designed for the collector's market, is the first in the series "Books of the Americas," to be edited by the author of the present volume, having as a purpose the creation of a "better and more sympathetic understanding between the peoples of the New World." The author-editor has had a long and varied experience south of the Rio Grande and writes understandingly of that culture. Divided into three chapters—"The Cult of the Gaucho and the Creation of Literature" in Argentina and Uruguay, "Charros, Corridos and Calaveras" in Mexico, and "The Cowboy in Life and Literature" in the United States—the general pattern of the book is to give a sketch of the early range life in those three areas and to show how the range influenced the development of the arts, particularly literature. Having previously published a volume on *The Cult of the Gaucho and the Creation of a Literature*, the author makes an excellent survey of range life and literature in the Pampas. However, the Mexican chapter falls far short of that standard as it concerns the personal experiences of the author and seems to show that literature there has been more concerned with revolutions than the range. The review of the open range days in the United States is an interesting story (despite the perpetuation of the ancient myth that De Soto's estrays were

the foundation stock for the western wild horse herds) and the brief listing of the literature and painting inspired by the Old West is representative if not complete. Frederic Remington is noticeably absent. This is no critical evaluation of the influence of the range upon literature, but it is a summary of that era in history and its influence upon the arts. Both the printed page and the distinguished illustrations, some in color, well show the unity of the Argentine and the United States in this one aspect of their heritage—the horsemen and the literature they inspired.

WALKER D. WYMAN, *Wisconsin State College, River Falls*

WINCHESTER: THE GUN THAT WON THE WEST. By *Harold F. Williamson*.

(Washington, Combat Forces Press, 1952, pp. xvi, 494, \$10.00.) For more than half a century the Winchester rifle was truly the "gun which made the West." From 1866 until long after the dawn of the twentieth century it was used and relied upon throughout all of western America. Indians, hunters, trappers, cowboys, outlaws, and frontier peace officers all utilized it and to many of these men it was a constant companion and often a real friend in need. Moreover, from 1866 to 1931, weapons made by the Winchester Repeating Arms Company were used in every war in which the United States was engaged as well as in the armed conflicts of many other nations. In spite of its subtitle, however, this large, handsome volume gives little space to the part played by the Winchester rifle in the winning of the American West. Most of the book is devoted to a comprehensive account of the business operations of this company from the time of the incorporation of its forerunner, the Volcanic Arms Company, until the Winchester Company went into the hands of a receiver in 1931. The moving spirit in the organization of the company was Oliver F. Winchester, and he and members of his family always had large interests in it. He had purchased a number of shares in the Volcanic Arms Company when it was organized in 1855 and reorganized it in 1857 as the New Haven Arms Company of which he became president and treasurer. The Civil War fully demonstrated the superiority of the repeating rifle and in 1866 another reorganization established the Winchester Repeating Arms Company. By 1870 the new company had made large contracts to supply arms and ammunition to the Turkish government and later similar ones were made with the Chinese and other governments. The United States also made considerable purchases of arms and ammunition for use by the army in the Spanish-American War. With the outbreak of World War I the company secured such huge contracts from the Allied powers, including the United States, that it was forced to expand enormously its plant and equipment. As a result the close of the war found it with so many buildings and so much equipment that it began the manufacture of many articles other than firearms, such as sporting goods, tools, refrigerators, cutlery, etc. It was not too successful in these ventures and in 1931 went into the hands of a receiver and was sold to a company of East Alton, Illinois. This book gives in detail the complete story of the business side of the company's history. It is a most readable volume and shows every evidence of long and careful research. Numerous illustrations including pictures of all types and models of guns produced by the Winchester Repeating Arms Company add much to the interest and value of the book. EDWARD EVERETT DALE, *University of Oklahoma*

CALIFORNIA FARM ORGANIZATIONS: A HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE GRANGE, THE FARM BUREAU, AND THE ASSOCIATED FARMERS, 1929-1941. By *Clarke A. Chambers*. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1952, pp. xv, 277, \$3.75.) Agriculture in California is a large and diversified industry, with several

unique characteristics such as intensive cultivation of specialty crops, expensive processing and marketing operations of highly perishable products, imperative need for seasonal, migratory farm labor, and large capital investment in land and equipment. Agriculture and finance, transportation, canning, and utility interests are frequently allied, although there are sharp differences between part-time farmers, small farmers, large farmers, and corporate industrial farmers. The latter two groups are usually influential in local politics. The volume by Professor Chambers is a study of three California farm organizations, the Grange, the Farm Bureau, and the Associated Farmers, and of their relationship to each other and to important public questions. It covers the critical years, 1929-1941, from depression to partial recovery. During this period, the Grange, composed of small farmers, tripled in size, with a total membership of 23,492. A social, fraternal, and reform organization, traditionally opposed to monopoly and political corruption, the bitter experiences of the depression forced the Grange to consider new policies to alleviate the situation. The counties of northern California were its chief area of strength; it was ably led by George Sehlmeier. The Farm Bureau, although concerned with technical and educational matters, was also a powerful force in politics, especially in the great agricultural counties of the San Joaquin valley and of southern California. Comprising the more prosperous farmers, its ideas concerning political issues reflected their conservatism. A membership of some 22,000 families, an adequate budget, and experienced leadership increased its influence. The Associated Farmers, organized in 1934 after a number of bitter and violent strikes, represented "the police power of California agriculture—its enforcement arm." Composed of many large growers, financed by industrial interests, dominated by fear of "radicalism," its purpose was to fight the unionization of agricultural workers. Although usually assisted by local government officials, vigilante methods were used if necessary to break agricultural unions and strikes. The author presents a cogent analysis of the attitude of the three groups concerning labor legislation, taxation, and the ownership and distribution of water and power. On these and other issues, the Grange supported liberal policies; the other two were conservative. The farm organizations did not formally endorse party candidates, but the Grange co-operated with progressive members of both parties, while conservative causes were vigorously sustained by the other farm groups. The volume is the product of intensive research, much of it being based on relatively inaccessible source material. It is written with objectivity and restraint. The author makes clear the complexities of state politics, the explosive social forces, and the economic conflicts which characterized the unpredictable commonwealth of California during the depression decade.

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Joseph R. Barager

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\* \* \* \* *Historical News* \* \* \* \*

### American Historical Association

The Executive Committee of the Council of the American Historical Association met in Washington on July 25 to receive the report of the special committee appointed to seek a successor for the present Executive Secretary and Managing Editor. The report was submitted by Solon J. Buck. The other members of the committee were Theodore C. Blegen of the University of Minnesota and Joseph R. Strayer of Princeton. The motion to discharge the committee was accompanied by an expression of sincere appreciation for its labors in carrying out its task. The Executive Committee, after considering the possibilities presented by the committee's report, elected Professor Boyd C. Shafer, professor of European history and chairman of the department in the University of Arkansas.

The printing schedule for the *Review* has made it necessary for the outgoing Managing Editor to assume responsibilities for the contents of this issue.

### Other Historical Activities

The papers of American-born Sir Francis Joseph Campbell, which were presented to the Library of Congress in 1952 by Mrs. Edna Irwin Davis, are now arranged and open for use by students interested in the career of this outstanding educator of the blind. Numbering some 10,500 pieces, the papers relate mainly to the years following his service as resident superintendent and musical director of Perkins Institute for the Blind in Boston. They document very fully the founding of the Royal Normal College and Academy of Music for the Blind near London in 1872, and his accomplishments there, for which Sir Francis was knighted in 1909. It is possible to follow in the letterbooks and correspondence the technique, first tested in Boston, by which he was able to assist ninety per cent of the students to carry on successful careers. In addition to Sir Francis' own papers, some of which are in Braille, there are a few papers of his wife, Lady Sophia Campbell, and of his son, Charles F. F. Campbell, who was the founder and first editor of *Outlook for the Blind*, pioneer American periodical in the field and now the organ of the American Foundation for the Blind.

The John Purroy Mitchel Papers, presented to the Library by William Brown Meloney, have also been organized and they may be used by research students under Library restrictions. While only a brief span of years is covered, the collection (about 16,500 pieces) is of substantial value in connection with the reform movement in New York City and in the state of New York prior to the First

World War, a part of the nationwide activities of civic leaders to create interest in and to improve the administration of city governments.

The papers of Admiral Montgomery Meigs Taylor have recently been added to the Naval Historical Foundation Collection in the Library. These papers, which are concerned primarily with his service in command of the United States Asiatic Fleet during the critical years of the early 1930's, cast much light on Far Eastern conditions from 1931 to 1933 and particularly on the Shanghai Incident of 1932.

Earlier manuscript material received by the Library includes a contemporary, and apparently the only extant, copy of a commission from the Council of Virginia in London to Samuel Argall and others, to make a voyage of fishing and discovery to Jamestown, April 2, 1609; an additional deposit of about 600 Shippen Family Papers, covering the period 1800-1936 and containing a folder of letters from Nancy Shippen Livingston to her nephew, William Shippen; and 14 journals kept between 1863 and 1884 by William A. H. Allen, assistant engineer in the United States Navy, in which there are copious notes on the history, topography, climate, and people of the many ports he visited and valuable contemporary photographs of the harbors and other points of interest.

James T. Shotwell, president emeritus of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, has presented to the library of the Endowment his complete archival collection of material on the history of the United Nations Conference on International Organizations, United States Delegation, out of which eventually grew the specialized agencies of the UN. Consisting largely of correspondence, reports, documents, etc., these materials are freely available for use in the library at the Endowment's new headquarters building, United Nations Plaza at 46th Street, New York 17, N.Y.

The Swarthmore Manuscripts, now at the Library of the Society of Friends, Friends House, Euston Road, London, have long been recognized as a principal source of early Quaker history. They comprise letters and other documents—some 1,400 of them—received by George Fox and Margaret Fell at Swarthmore Hall in Lancashire. The 563 letters written before 1660 have now been carefully calendared, copiously annotated, and elaborately indexed by Dr. Geoffrey F. Nuttall in a volume entitled *Early Quaker Letters from the Swarthmore MSS to 1660*. Copies of the book, which is mimeographed and bound but not published, are available at the following libraries in the United States: Earlham College Library, Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, Guilford College Library, Harvard College Library, Haverford College Library, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Huntington Library, Pendle Hill (Wallingford, Pennsylvania), and the Yale University Library.

A check list of the extensive Jane Addams Papers in the Swarthmore College

Peace Collection has been completed and may be had on request to the Curator, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

The recently established Ford Motor Company Archives at Dearborn, Michigan, has issued a number of pamphlets dealing with the collection: *Fair Lane: A Business Archives*, by Wayne C. Grover; *The Ford Motor Company Archives*, by Henry E. Edmunds (reprinted from the *American Archivist*, April, 1952); *Speaking of Yesterday: An Explanation of the Ford Motor Company Archives Oral History Project*, by Owen W. Bombard; and *Ford Documents and Photographs: An Exhibit*. The Archives' *Bulletin* No. 2 sets forth the rules governing the use of the collection by non-company researchers. Applications for access to the records or requests for information should be addressed to the Ford Motor Company Archives, Fair Lane, Dearborn, Michigan.

Recent "Preliminary Inventories" issued by the National Archives are: No. 54, *Records of the Office of Censorship*, compiled by Henry T. Ulasek, and No. 55, *Administrative Records of the Bureau of Pensions and the Pension Service*, compiled by Thayer M. Boardman, Myra R. Trever, and Louise W. Southwick.

The editors of the new *Journal of Transport History* hope to provide "a medium for publication of articles and reviews: to stimulate original research into the history of transport; to view transport as a whole by including in its scope all forms of transport, from trackways to aircraft, in all ages; and to provide common ground for professional historians and transport men. Transport in Great Britain will be the principal interest, but developments elsewhere will not be excluded." The *Journal* will be published by the University College of Leicester twice yearly, in May and November. The editors are Jack Simmons, professor of history, University College, Leicester, and R. M. Robbins, Secretary, London Transport Executive. The subscription rate is eighteen shillings a year; single copies, ten shillings each. Articles from the first issue are listed in the British Commonwealth section above.

The program for the quinquennial Historical Congress at Rome in September, 1955, was the principal item on the agenda of the Bureau of the International Committee of the Historical Sciences when it met in Graz, Austria, on May 30 and June 1. The eight-day program will consist of general meetings on the two Sundays opening and closing the congress, and six days devoted to reports and papers. The first of two morning sessions (9 to 11) will be devoted to reports on subjects of broad and key interest and printed and distributed six months in advance. These reports will be discussed, not read. A shorter second morning session (11:15 to 12:45) and an afternoon session (5 to 7) will be devoted to

papers of the more usual type, twenty minutes each, read by the author, and followed by discussion.

Subjects for the reports were fixed by the Bureau after preliminary consultation with the various national committees and in close co-ordination with the Italian national committee, in whose hands local arrangements lie. The definitive list of these reports will be available shortly and will be published in the next issue of the *Review*. Those wishing to read individual papers at the second and third sessions should submit subjects, and wherever possible, the papers themselves, to the American National Committee (either to the Executive Secretary, American Historical Association, 274 Library of Congress Annex, Washington, D. C., or to Professor Donald C. McKay, 472 Widener Library, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts) not later than April, 1954. Wherever possible, it is desirable that a paper bear a close relationship to one of the morning reports. A mimeographed summary of these papers will be made available to delegates before each session.

The Italian committee is making extensive preparations for the congress. Two afternoons of the six available will be devoted entirely to tours in and near Rome. Tours to other parts of Italy, on an optional basis, will be available. An Italian ladies' committee will arrange a series of tours all during the congress week for visiting wives. The sessions will take place in the University of Rome, where special arrangements will be made to facilitate ready contact of delegates. The latter will be housed in certain hotels in Rome, and a bus service will bring them to and from the university.

Under the chairmanship of the Reverend Philip S. Moore, C.S.C., vice-president of academic affairs at Notre Dame, an American committee has been formed to celebrate the seven hundredth anniversary of the founding of the College of the Sorbonne. The members of this committee are: Gray C. Boyce, Northwestern University; Canon A. L. Gabriel, University of Notre Dame; Urban T. Holmes, Jr., University of North Carolina; Pearl Kibre, Hunter College; Charles Miller, editor of *Speculum*, Mediaeval Academy of America; Dorothy Mackay Quynn, Frederick, Maryland; Lynn Thorndike, Columbia University; and Berthold L. Ullman, University of North Carolina. The first of a series of regional meetings was held on February 14, 1953, at Chapel Hill, North Carolina. The proceedings of this meeting have now been published in a pamphlet entitled *The Septicentennial Celebration of the Founding of the Sorbonne College in the University of Paris, Proceedings and Papers* (University of North Carolina, pp. 49). Professor René Hardré gave a brief history of the University of Paris and of the Sorbonne; Canon A. L. Gabriel talked on "A Spiritual Portrayal of Robert de Sorbonne"—"a simple and practical moralist of his day" (p. 32); and B. L. Ullman described the Sorbonne library of the fourteenth century, which early illustrated the international character both of learning and of students at the University of Paris. Greetings from the French Republic were delivered by M. Pierre Guédenet, as-



sistant French cultural attaché in New York. Following a luncheon visitors could visit a special exhibit illustrating the history of the Sorbonne arranged in the university library. Three more meetings are planned, one in New York, one in Chicago, and one in Washington, D. C.

The three associations representing German archivists, historians, and teachers of history met in Bremen, September 14-20. In general, the sessions of the three groups were separate with appropriate professional papers. The program of the *Versammlung deutscher Historiker* was limited to eighteen papers in some eleven sessions. A general session on the evening of September 19 was addressed by the president of the *Verband der Historiker Deutschlands*, Professor Gerhard Ritter of Freiburg, whose topic was "The Problem of 'Militarism' in Germany."

At the Lexington, Kentucky, meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, May 7-9, James C. Olson, superintendent of the Nebraska Historical Society, was elected secretary-treasurer, succeeding Mrs. Clarence S. Paine, who has served the Association in that capacity for many years and who retired last year because of ill health. The work of the office has been carried on during the past year by her son, Clarence S. Paine, director of the Oklahoma City Libraries. By this action, the principal office of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association—founded in Lincoln in 1907 at the instigation of Clarence S. Paine, then superintendent of the Nebraska State Historical Society—will remain in Lincoln. Professor Fred A. Shannon of the University of Illinois was elected president of the Association, succeeding Professor James L. Sellers, chairman of the department of history of the University of Nebraska. Professor Dwight L. Dumond of the University of Michigan was re-elected chairman of the executive committee.

The Southern Historical Society (not to be confused with the Southern Historical Association), after a long and productive existence, has been dissolved. It was founded in 1869 and was dedicated to the publication of original source materials dealing with the War between the States. The recent death of Dr. Douglas Southall Freeman left the organization with only one surviving member, Mr. J. Ambler Johnston of Richmond. The society's assets, including the back issues of its publications and the edited manuscripts for three projected volumes in the *Southern Historical Society Papers* series, have been turned over to the Virginia Historical Society. The latter organization has announced that Volume L (New Series Number XII) of the *Southern Historical Society Papers*, containing the Proceedings of the First Confederate Congress, Fourth Session, December 7, 1863-February 18, 1864, will be published in October, 1953. The remaining two volumes are scheduled for publication at a later date. They will complete the Proceedings of the Confederate Congress and will terminate the serial existence of the *Southern Historical Society Papers*. All correspondence concerning back

issues of the *Papers*, as well as orders for the volumes yet to be published, should hereafter be addressed to the Virginia Historical Society, The Lee House, 707 East Franklin Street, Richmond 19, Virginia.

The twenty-first annual meeting of the Berkshire Historical Conference was held over the weekend of May 15-17 at South Egremont, Massachusetts. Twenty-two women, teaching in the field of history and representing fourteen colleges, were present. Miss Mildred Campbell of Vassar College was elected president of the conference and Mrs. Grace H. Larsen of Rutgers University was re-elected secretary-treasurer. Following a business meeting, Miss Campbell discussed some of the conclusions she had reached after a year of research in England on the background of American immigrants and Miss Beatrice Hyslop of Hunter College told the group of her research in France on the properties of Philippe Egalité.

The American Studies Association will hold a two-day conference in the Library of Congress, November 27 and 28. The four sessions will deal with various aspects of "The Role of the Intellectual in a Democratic Society." Comments and inquiries are invited by the chairman of the conference, Edward N. Waters, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington 25, D.C.

Under the auspices of the Mediaeval Academy of America, a series of lectures on medieval Celtic law will be delivered this winter by Professor Daniel Binchy of the Dublin School of Advanced Studies.

Among the 191 fellowships awarded for the coming year by the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation are the following in history and related fields: Clinton L. Rossiter, III, Cornell University, a historical study of American political conservatism; Col. Robert R. Ellis, Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army, historical studies of the Corps of Engineers, Confederate States Army; Robert D. Meade, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, biography of Patrick Henry; Walter M. Teller, Plumsteadville, Pennsylvania, Captain Joshua Slocum, Yankee skipper, 1844-1908; Nathalia Wright, University of Tennessee, Horatio Greenough, American sculptor; Francis J. B. Hackett, Newtown, Connecticut, Charles the Fifth of Spain; Charles Frankel, Columbia University, studies in the philosophy of history and politics with special reference to the foundations of liberalism; Benjamin I. Schwartz, Harvard University, a study of the intellectual development of modern China from the end of the nineteenth century until the Communist assumption of power; Edward H. Schafer, University of California, Berkeley, study of the history of Chinese civilization in medieval times; Arthur F. Wright, Stanford University, a study of the Sui Dynasty in China, 589-617 A.D.; Howard Jay Graham, Los Angeles County Law Library, studies of the Fourteenth Amendment with special reference to the doctrine of corporate personality,

1860-1890; Samuel H. Beer, Harvard University, a study of the structure and function of British political parties; Rupert Emerson, Harvard University, a study of the development in recent decades of the nationalist movements of the non-white peoples of the world; James A. Gibson, Carleton College, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, a study of the Constitution of Canada, with emphasis upon the development of self-government; Joseph Dorfman, Columbia University, studies of the development of American economic thought, 1918-1933; Abram L. Harris, University of Chicago, a study of the history of economic progress and social reform; Margaret T. Hodgen, University of California, Berkeley, research into the origins of social studies in seventeenth-century Europe; Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., University of Illinois, studies in the history of American intellectual life from colonial times to the present; Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr., American University, a study of the history of the liberal tradition in the United States; Miss Marion L. Starkey, University of Connecticut, a study of the social, economic, and political aspects of Shays's Rebellion, 1786-1787; Perry D. Westbrook, New York State Teachers College, Albany, a sociological, historical, and cultural study of a typical coastal New England community; Clinton H. Gardiner, Washington University, a biographical study of the artisan-conquistador Martín López; Caroline Robbins, Bryn Mawr College, studies in the transmission of the English tradition of liberty; Rudolf B. Gottfried, Indiana University, a study of historical writing in England, 1500-1625; Garrett Mattingly, Columbia University, studies of the political, military, and diplomatic events centering on the defeat of the Spanish Armada; Chester V. Easum, University of Wisconsin, studies of the history of the Hohenzollern empire, 1871-1918; Robert G. L. Waite, Williams College, studies of German nationalism since World War II; William F. Church, Brown University, a study of political thought in seventeenth-century France; Américo Castro, Princeton University, studies in European thought and history in the sixteenth century; Andreas Dorpalen, St. Lawrence University, studies of the life and times of the German historian and publicist Heinrich von Treitschke, 1834-1896; Mabel L. Lang, Bryn Mawr College, a study of changing standards of weights and measures throughout Athenian history; Robert L. Scranton, Emory University, a study of the architectural development of medieval Corinth in Greece; Kurt von Fritz, Columbia University, studies of the development of Greek historiography; Marion E. Blake, Bradford, Vermont, studies of the mosaic pavements of Roman Italy; Robert M. Grant, University of Chicago, studies in the history of early Christian thought; James T. Flexner, New York City, studies of the history of American painting, 1760-1830; Anthony N. B. Garvan, University of Pennsylvania, a study of early Pennsylvania architecture and town planning, 1680-1750; Ernest Sirluck, University of Chicago, studies of the relation between Milton's political theory and the course of the governments during the Puritan Revolution; Wiktor Weintraub, Harvard University, studies of the history of Polish literature from the Middle Ages to 1939.

Among the appointments announced by the Trustees of the Huntington Library for the academic year 1953-1954 are the following: *Grants-in-aid*: J. G. Jenkins, Editor, Buckinghamshire Record Society, Bucks, England, early charters of Missenden Abbey; Lewis Paul Kohrs, Library School, University of California at Berkeley, invention and the idea of progress in Bishop Sprat, Robert Hooke, and Sir Matthew Hale; George L. Mosse, associate professor of history, Iowa State University, influence of Renaissance political thought on Puritanism; Lawrence V. Ryan, instructor in English, Stanford University, biography of Roger Ascham; James W. Silver, professor of history, University of Mississippi, public opinion in the Confederacy. *Fellowships and grants-in-aid for a study of the Southwest*: Ramon F. Adams, Dallas, Texas, bibliography of western outlaws; Juanita Brooks, St. George, Utah, John D. Lee diaries; W. Turrentine Jackson, associate professor of history, University of California, Davis, Scottish contribution to the development of the American West; Andrew Rolle, instructor in history, Occidental College, Los Angeles, biography of William Heath Davis; Edgeley W. Todd, assistant professor of English, Central College of Washington, Ellensburg, literary aspect of the western fur trade. The Trustees of the Huntington Library, continuing the policy of fostering research in the humanities, have announced the allocation of funds for fellowships and grants-in-aid, the amounts to be determined each year. Fellowships in the value of \$4000 are awarded for one year, but a Fellow is entitled to one month's vacation. Grants-in-aid are given for periods shorter than a year. No recipient of a fellowship or grant from another agency or foundation is eligible, but the library will co-operate in matching arrangements. Fellowships and grants-in-aid are planned to enable scholars to bring significant research to completion. Therefore, grants are not given for initial or exploratory research. Awards are normally made to scholars whose subjects require the use of the library's resources. Scholars carrying on research in the field of Anglo-American civilization from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, will be given preference because of the library's interest in this period. Applicants who wish to study the economic, cultural, and social development of the Southwest should write for a separate statement concerning fellowships and grants-in-aid. Address applications to the Chairman of the Fellowship Committee, Huntington Library, San Marino 9, California. Applications must be received not later than the January 1 preceding the academic year for which an award is desired.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, announces the following grants-in-aid of research awarded at its annual council meeting in May, 1953: Harold Trevor Colbourn, Pennsylvania State College, historical origins of American independence: Jefferson and Adams look at history; Elmer James Ferguson, University of Maryland, financial history of the United States from 1775 to 1790; Dr. Joseph I. Waring, Charleston, South Carolina, history of medicine in South Carolina to 1815.

The Ford Foundation Board on Overseas Training and Research has awarded a second series of fellowships for periods of from one to two and one-half years to ninety-seven young Americans to begin or continue studies concerning Asia, the Near and Middle East. The following information accompanies the list of appointees: "The purpose of this program is to stimulate increased knowledge of Asia, the Near and Middle East and to help meet the urgent need throughout these critical areas for large numbers of men and woman well qualified in business, education, government, communications, agriculture, labor relations, and the professions. The recipients, who were selected from approximately 650 applicants, range in age from 20 to 42, their average age being 29. Eighty-eight of them are men and nine are women. The special fields of interest represented by these awards are: anthropology 13, area studies 10, art 1, communications 1, economics 10, geography 2, government 3, history 20, international relations 13, journalism 4, law 1, linguistics 1, literature 3, political science 11, philosophy 1, sociology 3." The awards total \$488,150. It is expected that a similar program will be announced next fall.

Philip A. Crowl has been awarded the Forrestal Fellowship for 1953-54 at the U.S. Naval Academy to prepare a study of "Command Relationships in Amphibious Warfare in World War II." He is on leave of absence from the Office of Military History of the Department of the Army.

James F. Doster is the recipient of the Business History Fellowship for the academic year 1953-1954. This fellowship, awarded by the Business Historical Society, carries a stipend of \$4,000 and enables an advanced scholar, usually the holder of a doctor's degree in history, to spend a year of study and research at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. The recipient of the fellowship is permitted free use of his time while at Harvard to pursue whatever aspects of the history of business he may choose. Dr. Doster will take a year's leave of absence from his duties as assistant professor of history at the University of Alabama.

The Institute of the History of Medicine, of the Johns Hopkins University, announces the continuation in 1953-54 of its fellowships in the history of medicine and of the natural sciences. Fellowships for this year have been awarded to Dr. Herbert S. Klickstein, of the Graduate Hospital, the University of Pennsylvania; and to Mr. Robert P. Multhauf, graduate student in history at the University of California.

The Agricultural History Society has established two annual awards of fifty dollars each to be known as the Everett Eugene Edwards Memorial Awards. They are to be given to the authors of the two best articles (presidential addresses

excluded) which are published in *Agricultural History* in each current year, one to an author who is in the course of taking a degree and one to an author who is a more advanced scholar. For further details and information concerning the Everett Eugene Edwards Memorial Awards, address Wayne D. Rasmussen, Acting Secretary-Treasurer of the Agricultural History Society, Room 3906 South Agriculture Building, United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington 25, D. C.

The American Association of University Women offers twenty-five fellowships to American women for advanced study or research during the academic year 1954-55. All applications must be in by December 15, 1953. For detailed information concerning these fellowships and instructions for applying, address the Secretary, Committee on Fellowship Awards, American Association of University Women, 1634 Eye Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Frederick Rudolph, assistant professor of history at Williams College, was awarded the John Addison Porter Prize and the George Washington Egelston Prize for his doctoral dissertation, "Mark Hopkins and the Log," at the Yale commencement in June.

W. L. Williamson, Fellow at the Graduate Library School of the University of Chicago, is undertaking a study of William Frederick Poole (1821-1894), fourth president of this Association and eminent librarian and indexer. Mr. Williamson would appreciate hearing from persons knowing the whereabouts of letters or other material pertinent to his study.

## Personal

### APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

Luther H. Evans has resigned after eight years of distinguished service as Librarian of Congress. He has accepted election as director general of UNESCO for a term of six years, succeeding Jaime Torres Bodet of Mexico.

Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr., has been promoted to a full professorship in the department of history at the American University.

Marvin B. Becker, assistant professor of medieval history at Baldwin-Wallace College, Berea, Ohio, has been awarded a Fulbright grant to do research in Florence, Italy, for 1953-1954.

W. Turrentine Jackson has been promoted to associate professor of history in the University of California, Davis.



Jurgen Roetter, formerly of the University of Wisconsin, has been appointed assistant professor of history in the University of Cincinnati.

John G. Westover has resigned from the staff of the Army's Office of Military History to become associate professor of history in Central Missouri State College. Dr. Westover will continue his work on the Italian campaign for *The U.S. Army in World War II*.

At the University of Colorado Fritz L. Hoffmann has been promoted to professor of history and Robert G. Athearn to associate professor. Hal Bridges, formerly of the University of Arkansas, has been appointed assistant professor of history.

Daniel M. McFarland, formerly of Blue Mountain College, has been appointed professor of history in Columbia College, Columbia, South Carolina.

Dexter Perkins is on leave from the University of Rochester during the current year to serve as John L. Senior University Professor of American Civilization at Cornell University.

James A. Van Kirk has retired after thirty-three years as head of the division of the social sciences at Dakota Wesleyan University.

Warren J. Gates has been promoted to assistant professor of history in Dickinson College.

William T. Laprade has retired as professor of history at Duke University. A dinner was given in his honor on April 24 by the university, former colleagues, and students. Dr. Laprade joined the Duke faculty in 1909 and served as chairman of the department of history for fifteen years. Harold T. Parker of the department of history at Duke is on sabbatical leave during the current year, and Robert H. Woody is on sabbatical leave during the first term.

Searle F. Charles has been appointed instructor in history at Fairmount State College, West Virginia.

Nelson Norman, formerly of the University of Illinois, has gone to Fresno State College to head the Western Civilization program.

Clarence H. Haring, Robert Woods Bliss professor of Latin-American history and economics in Harvard University, retired with emeritus rank at the end of the past academic year.

E. M. Hause has been promoted to associate professor of history in the University of Idaho.

E. James Ferguson of the University of Maryland is visiting lecturer in history at the University of Illinois during the current year.

Albert L. Kohlmeier, professor of history in Indiana University, retired with the rank of emeritus on July 1.

Charles R. Ritcheson, formerly of the Oklahoma College for Women, has been appointed associate professor of history in Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio.

Edward Lurie has accepted an appointment as a research associate in history at the School of Industrial Management, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. His duties will be to prepare a critical bibliography of primary and secondary materials dealing with the history of science and technology in the United States (1789—).

On September 1 Howard H. Peckham, formerly director of the Indiana Historical Bureau, took up his new duties as director of the William L. Clements Library of Americana at the University of Michigan.

In the department of history of the University of Minnesota Miss Faith Thompson and Mrs. Alice Felt Tyler have been promoted to full professorships.

Benjamin Sacks has been named chairman of the department of history in the University of New Mexico. John E. Longhurst has been promoted to associate professor of history.

Fletcher M. Green, Kenan professor of history in the University of North Carolina, has succeeded Wallace E. Caldwell as chairman of the department. Dr. Caldwell, who resigned the chairmanship September 1, has been granted a leave of absence for the 1954 fall semester to study new excavations in Italy and Greece.

At Northwestern University Richard W. Leopold has been promoted to professor of history and will serve as acting chairman of the department during the winter and spring quarters while Gray C. Boyce is on leave of absence. Roger F. Hackett has been appointed instructor in history. Samuel H. Baron of the University of Tennessee is serving as lecturer in history for the current year while Leften S. Stavrianos is on leave. Richard M. Brace has been awarded a faculty research fellowship to complete his study of moderantism during the French Revolution.

Charles B. MacDonald has been promoted to the position of chief of the European section in the Army's Office of Military History, succeeding Roland G. Ruppenthal, who has joined the staff of the Operations Research Office, the Johns Hopkins University.

LeRoy H. Fischer, associate professor of history at Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, has been granted a sabbatical leave of absence for research from September, 1953, to September, 1954.

Maury A. Bromsen of the department of cultural affairs of the Pan American Union has been granted leave of absence for the current year to complete a biographical study of President Balmaceda of Chile (1840-91) and to edit the proceedings of the recent Medina Centennial Celebration in Washington, D. C. Dr. Javier Malagón is serving as acting editor of the *Inter-American Review of Bibliography* in Dr. Bromsen's absence.

William E. Sawyer, formerly of Kentucky Wesleyan College, has been appointed associate professor of political science and history at Pennsylvania Military College.

Philip S. Klein has succeeded Alfred C. Pundt as chairman of the department of history in Pennsylvania State College.

The Rice Institute announces the establishment of the Harris Masterson, Jr., Professorship in History, and the appointment of Floyd Seyward Lear, chairman of the department of history and political science, to that post. William B. Hesselstine of the University of Wisconsin is the M. D. Anderson visiting professor of history at the Rice Institute for the current academic year, and Hardin Craig, Jr., professor of history, has been appointed head librarian of the Fondren Library at the institute.

A. G. Dickens of University College, Hull, England, and L. Ethan Ellis of Rutgers University are serving as visiting professors of history in the University of Rochester during the current academic year.

Richard B. Schlatter is chairman of the department of history in Rutgers University for the current year and Henry R. Winkler is on leave on a Fulbright research grant in England.

At Stanford University, Frank Freidel of the University of Illinois is serving during the current year as acting associate professor of history and Don E. Fehrenbacher of Coe College is serving as acting assistant professor of history.

John C. Miller has returned after a year in the Netherlands on a Fulbright grant, and John J. Johnson has resumed his work after a year in Washington with the Department of State. Amin Banani, Kenneth B. O'Brien, and Eric W. Cochrane have been appointed instructors on the Western Civilization staff. Kenichi Nakaya, professor of American studies in the Tokyo National University, has been appointed a research fellow in history for 1953-54 under a Rockefeller Foundation grant.

Thomas P. Govan, who resigned from his position as Francis S. Houghteling professor of American history at the University of the South, has accepted a one-year appointment as acting professor of history at Tulane University. Also at Tulane, John L. Snell has been appointed assistant professor of European history.

Fritz Nova, formerly of Pennsylvania Military College, has accepted a position in the department of history at Villanova College.

John Melville Jennings has been appointed director of the Virginia Historical Society. He succeeds the late Reverend William Clayton Torrence, who was corresponding secretary and director of the society from 1940 to 1953.

William M. E. Rachal, formerly of the Virginia State Library, has been appointed editor of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*.

Winfred A. Harbison, chairman of the department of history in Wayne University, has received a Fulbright lectureship to the University of Aberdeen for 1953-54.

The department of history in Williams College announces the following promotions: Robert C. L. Scott to professor, Robert G. L. Waite to associate professor, and Russell H. Bastert and C. Frederick Rudolph, Jr., to assistant professors.

#### RECENT DEATHS

Douglas Southall Freeman, distinguished editor and historian, died June 13 of a heart attack at the age of sixty-seven. He was born in Lynchburg, Virginia, graduated from Richmond College in 1904, and received his doctor's degree from the Johns Hopkins University in 1908. He was later the recipient of honorary degrees from over a score of learned institutions. As editor of the *Richmond News Letter* he was well known before his first historical work appeared. Among the works he wrote or edited three have given him rank among the leading historians of his day, especially in the field of biography with emphasis upon military history. They are his four-volume *Life of Robert E. Lee* (Pulitzer prize, 1934), *Lee's Lieutenants*, in three volumes, and the projected *Life of George*

*Washington* in eight volumes of which five have appeared. To accomplish these tasks while editing, speaking, broadcasting, and serving on innumerable boards and advisory committees meant a schedule of work that left in despair those who heard him describe it. His was not, however, the life of the recluse. No one was more friendly, humble, and generous with his time in public service and personal contacts than Dr. Freeman. He was a member of this Association and few members read the *Review* more attentively. On the morning of the day of his death, Dr. Freeman had carefully revised the final paragraph of the chapter in Volume VI which carries Washington to 1793 and to the end of his first administration as President, and this will be the concluding chapter of the biography.

Professor Alexander A. Vasiliev died in Washington May 30 in his eighty-fifth year. He was working up to the day of his death on another volume of his Byzantine history. Only a few weeks earlier he had returned from Greece, where he had taken part in the International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Here he had been honored as the foremost scholar in the field. Professor Vasiliev was born in St. Petersburg and earned his doctorate at the local university in 1902. He taught in Russian universities until 1925 when he came to America, and as the successor of Professor M. I. Rostovtzeff held the chair in ancient and medieval history at the University of Wisconsin. He left Wisconsin in 1939 to join the staff of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and became an emeritus scholar of that institution in 1951. He taught as visiting professor at Columbia in 1935-36 and was a member of several learned societies. He became an American citizen in 1931. A devoted and meticulous scholar, he produced a long list of articles, monographs, and books in his chosen field. The best known titles are the *History of the Byzantine Empire* published in Russian, English, French, Spanish, and Turkish; *Byzantium and the Arabs*; *The Goths in Crimea*; *The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 1860*; and *Justin the First*.

Assistant Professor Francis N. Estey of the University of Rochester died on June 30, 1953. He was thirty-six years old and had been an assistant professor at Rochester since 1949. Earlier he had taught at Princeton, where he took his A.B. in 1940 and his Ph.D. in 1948. During World War II he served in the Navy in the Atlantic, Mediterranean, and Pacific theaters, reaching the rank of lieutenant commander. He was a member of the American Historical Association and the Mediaeval Academy. Professor Estey was one of the most promising younger medievalists, and had made important contributions to the difficult problem of the transition from Carolingian to feudal institutions. As a teacher of medieval and Renaissance history he was noted for his sympathetic understanding of undergraduates and his clarity of presentation. He was a man of absolute integrity; his character, as well as his knowledge, won him the respect of students and colleagues.

William Grant McColley, naval historian, died in Washington July 5 in his fifty-ninth year. He was a graduate of Wake Forest College and received his doctorate from Northwestern University. He was a member of this Association and of the Modern Language Association.

## Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In the *American Historical Review* for April, 1953 (LVIII, no. 3) on page 667, in a review of my book, it is alleged that the Navy Department "deliberately broke up its administrative history program while it was in full swing." I regret that this statement is inaccurate. The Navy Department has entrusted the administrative history to competent hands and it will appear in due time. I trust this will be welcome news to your readers.

E. J. KING  
Fleet Admiral, U. S. Navy

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Having read three quarters or more of the book reviews that have appeared in the *American Historical Review*, I have no hesitation in saying that to me Professor Hexter's review of Webb's *Great Frontier* in the current number (July, 1953, p. 963) is the most surprising of them all. Whatever may be the personal opinion of a reviewer as to the validity of the thesis put forward in a book under review, he owes to his readers a discriminating appraisal of the value of the book. If it is one that puts forward for consideration a highly significant interpretation of an important problem, that fact ought to be recognized. There is nothing of the sort in Professor Hexter's review. I deeply regret that the *American Historical Review* should have given such treatment to an important book by an eminent scholar.

Dartmouth College

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON

### Correction

Through a printer's error, the fifth line from the bottom on page 892 of the July issue is unintelligible. The passage in Dr. Baron's review should read: "In Simeoni's eyes, the student of the period must above all be on his guard lest he be deceived by the rhetoric of our humanistic sources. The continued use of the medieval slogans of Guelph and Ghibelline . . ."



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**PUBLICATIONS:** In addition to the *Annual Report*, the Association publishes from time to time out of special funds important documentary collections in American political and legal history. Its official organ is the *American Historical Review*, published quarterly and sent to all members. It appoints a proportion of the members of the board of editors of *Social Education*, a journal on the social studies for secondary-school teachers.

**PRIZES:** The *Albert J. Beveridge Award*, given annually for the best manuscript in the history of the Western Hemisphere, has a cash value of \$1,000 and assurance of publication. Address inquiries to Professor Dorothy Burne Goebel, Hunter College, 695 Park Ave., New York 21, N. Y.

The *Watumull Prize* of \$500, awarded biennially for a work on the history of India originally published in the United States (next award: December, 1953).

The *George Louis Beer Prize* of about \$200, awarded annually for a work upon any phase of European international history since 1895.

The *John H. Dunning Prize* of about \$100, awarded in the even-numbered years for a monograph on any subject relating to American history.

The *Herbert B. Adams Prize*, without stipend, awarded in the even-numbered years for a work in the field of European history.

**DUES:** There is no initiation fee. Annual dues are \$7.50, students \$4.00. Life membership is \$150. All members receive the *American Historical Review* and the program of the annual meeting.

**CORRESPONDENCE:** Inquiries should be addressed to the Executive Secretary at the Library of Congress Annex, Study Room 274, Washington 25, D. C.

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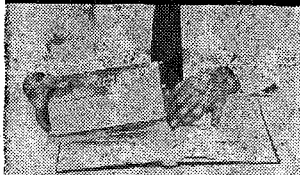
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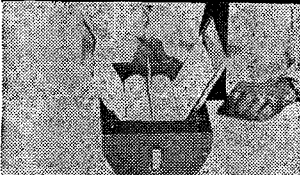
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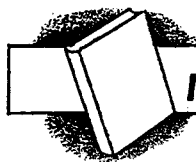


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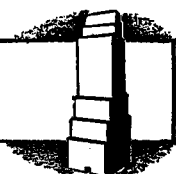
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